PERIODICAL ROOM
GENERAL LIBRARY
UNIV. OF MICH
APR 2 4 1946

THE NEW

STATESMAN AND NATION

The Week-end Review

Vol. XXXI. No. 789. [incorporating THE ATHENÆUM] SATURDAY, APRIL 6, 1946 [Registered at the G.P.O. as a newspaper] SIXPENCE

CONTENTS

	Page
COMMENTS	237
NEW TOWNS FOR OLD	239
JAPAN UNCHANGED. By Andrew Roth	240
A LONDON DIARY By Critic	241
ESCAPIST EPIGRAM By Sir Edward Marsh	241
THIS ENGLAND	241
PRISONERS' UNIVERSITY. By Kingsley Martin	242
POLITICAL PURGE IN HUNGARY By Paul Ignotus	242
SOCIALISM AND EUROPE. By K. Zilliacus, M.P.	243
MUSIC IN SCANDINAVIA. By D. Shawe-Taylor	244
RADIO NOTES. By Edward Sackville West	244
THE MOVIES. By William Whitebait	244
AN INDIAN BALLET	245
THREE SHOWS. By Roger Marvell	245
KLEPTOMANIA. By Sagittarius	245
CORRESPONDENCE	246
From Joyce Sibly; Henry Usborne, M.P.; Maurice Petherick; C. G. W Whibley; C. H. B. Locke; R. D. Leakey; Maurice Cranston; Dan Griffiths; Geoffrey H. Porter; H. F. Rance; J. C. T. Cleave: M Harrison; Lady Ebba Low.	
BOOKS IN GENERAL. By Humphry House	249
REVIEWS:	
New Novels. By Philip Toynbee	250
The Way Out in India. By Madan Gopal	250
Homer Plain. By Lionel Cranfield	251
World Economic Reconstruction By T. Balogh	253
Near East. By G. W Stonier	253
WEEK-END COMPETITIONS	253

LEGALITIES AND SUBSTANCE

THE rulers of the Soviet Union know just as we all know, that Russian methods in Persia, and Russia's treatment of the Security Council, are not compatible with the aims and purposes of Uno. The Russians always preferred Big Three procedure, but they were willing parties to the Uno constitution and they have no legal case for the long delay in withdrawing their troops or for bringing pressure to bear on the Persian Government. Britain and America are well within their rights in demanding that Russia's withdrawal from Persia must be unconditional. Mr. Bevin and Mr. Byrnes are, of course, also aware that the Soviet Union is even more sensitive to questions of prestige than other Great Powers. As we go to press, the Persian and Soviet statements suggest that a compromise may be reached on the basis of a promise of total Russian withdrawal from Persia by May 6th. But that in itself will not settle any of the problems between the U.S.S.R. and the West. At the same time, Britain must respond with constructive proposals for the Middle East.

Something of this kind may have been in Mr. Bevin's mind when he made his important speech at Bristol last Saturday. He asked for an agreement and a declaration that "we shall not use our armies to settle our disputes. I believe we shall all have to leave behind the method of negotiating under duress." But he went on to say that he desired better machinery for dealing with disputes arising from conflicts between the Great Powers about vital raw materials, such as oil. He referred to British efforts to reach an oil agreement with the United States, but he is not reported to have mentioned our failure to ask the Soviet Union to be a party to this agreement. Here clearly is the crux of the matter. Unless the present dispute at Uno ends in some genuine agreement, its causes will remain, and the same type of Great Power dispute which has led to wars in the past will prevent any settled peace in the future.

The Americans and British are forgetful of the military and economic history of Persia. Russians do not forget that after the last war British troops invaded the U.S.S.R. from Persia and set up independent republics in Georgia and Armenia. The Russians also recall that in 1940, when Weygand was planning for operations against them, the French Ambassador in Ankara suggested that Turkey might provide bases for bombing Baku. Similarly, in considering the legality and methods of Russia's search for "security" and raw materials, the Western world forgets that the Soviet Union is only behaving as we and other Great Powers have done in the past. In 1905, for instance, the British supported a Liberal rising against the tyranny of the Shah, and insurgents found refuge in the British Embassy, just as insurgents against the last Shah found refuge in Soviet Azerbaijan. Just as Britain supported a rising against the tyranny of the Shah then, so Russia to-day supports those Persians who hope to overthrow the corrupt and inefficient group of landlords and nobility who are still in the saddle in Persia. No one in the West can seriously defend the present Persian regime, in which all reforms can be blocked in the Majlis if one-third of its members absent themselves from its deliberations.

These are the things to remember. The authority of Teheran is ineffectively exercised over a large part of the territory of Iran. The Persian Government seems not to have advanced far beyond the old Turkish idea that the only way of dealing with nomadic peoples is suppression by force. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, has been particularly successful in this matter of backward peoples, and deals with nomads not as a military, but as an economic problem. It offers economic aid, land settlement, irrigation and expert help in agricultural development. We should like to think that when Mr. Bevin declares, as he did last Saturday, that he wishes to see the end of the old Imperialism, he will not be satisfied merely with putting the Russians legally in the wrong. We trust that he also intends to substitute for the old Imperialism an offer to the Soviet Union to join with them in sharing oil concessions and in seeing to it that the government of a neighbouring country is no longer the home of anti-Soviet intrigue, and that social development, about which he and the rulers of the Soviet Union are in agreement, is applied throughout Persia and the Middle East.

Reaction Triumphs in Greece

The Greek elections have yielded the result foreseen. As we write, the returns are still incomplete; but it looks as though the Populists, together with other extreme Monarchist groups, will secure about 230 seats out of 357. The rest of the Chamber will be made up, in the proportion of approximately 3 to 2 by the anti-Communist National Political Union and the so-called Liberal Party of M. Sophoulis. Out of a total electorate of about 2,200,000, something like 1,000,000 votes have apparently been polled —a figure which leaves disputable the question how far abstentions were due to imperfections of the register or to the instructions of Eam that an election in which no progressive candidate was standing should be boycotted. In any event, the Populists and their associates, who have now secured an absolute majority in the Chamber, have probably been elected by one-third of the electorate. M. Tsaldaris, the Populist leader, has already announced that his Party proposes not to wait until 1948 for a plebiscite for the return of the King, but to hold it forthwith in accordance with "the mandate given by the Greek people." Mr. Bevin's insistence that there should be no postponement of the elections has produced a situation of great difficulty for him. If he now withdraws the British troops from Greece, he will be exposed to the charge that he is removing the one possible check on White Terror. If the British garrison remains, he will be accused, at any rate by the Soviet Union and, probably, by the Left in Greece, of conniving, in British Imperialist interests, at the return of an unpopular monarch and the establishment in Greece of a dictatorship as Fascist as that of General Franco. It is, in fact, the ultimate bitterness of political irony that, by intervening in Greece in order to abort a revolution, the British Government is now responsible for the emergence of a problem which can scarcely be solved except by revolutionary methods.

World Food Crisis

Beginning as we go to press, the Parliamentary debate on food policy will doubtless give Ministers the opportunity both of announcing a very substantial increase, secured by Sir Ben Smith's visit to Washington, in the allocation of wheat to India, and of emphasising the necessity of the utmost possible economy in British consumption of bread grains and also of fats, whose supply cannot be augmented save by an unjustifiable export of ground-nuts from starving India. The White Paper issued on the eve of the debate elaborates, without adding anything substantially new to the picture, already familiar, of a world stringency which is likely to last until after the 1947-48 harvest. Quite apart from the droughts which did so much damage in 1945-46, the fact has to be faced that in India the growth of population is steadily encroaching upon the means of subsistence and that, excluding Russia, the grain production of the Continent of Europe last year was little more than half its pre-war level. The 1946 harvest in Europe should show, with luck, some improvement; and we may hope to avoid a recurrence of last year's widespread droughts. Even so, the needs this year and next of the cereal-importing countries are likely to be vastly greater than before the war; and this means that for farmers all over the world there will have to be a continuance of siege economics—concentration on cereal crops and their diversion from animal feed to the flour mills. The result must necessarily be a prolonged, and possibly intensified, shortage of live stock for meat and dairy produce.

The Future of the Ruhr

The British experts have now drawn up their plan for the control of the Ruhr, and it is said to be already under consideration by the Cabinet. If the accounts which have appeared in the press are correct, it appears to be a good plan, and one on which it should be possible, in view of M. Gouin's recent utterances, to reach agreement with the French. The plan leaves the Ruhr, politically, part of Germany, but provides for an international agency to control its economic affairs. This agency is to be run at the outset by the four Big Powers, but the door is to be left open to participation by other Powers, such as Belgium and Holland. Control is to be exercised through boards for the separate industries, with German participation. It is not clear who is to own the industries, or at any rate at what point the line between public and private ownership is to be drawn. Most important is the part of the plan that treats the output quotas recently laid down for Germany not as permanent but as subject to revision under the auspices of the proposed international agency, so as to allow the Ruhr's productive power to be more fully utilised as soon as a satisfactory agreed scheme for distribution of its output in the interests of all Europe has been worked out. The preparation of such a plan, taken in conjunction with the change of attitude on the part of the French Government, is a very promising development; and the plan itself should form an excellent basis for discussion at the Four-Power conversations for which the French have asked.

Slimming German Industry

Meanwhile, the Allied Control Council has at last reached agreement on the steps to be taken to implement the Potsdam decision that the future level of German industry must be so regulated as to preclude aggression. The agreement goes a long way—further perhaps than the British Government desired—to meet American and Russian views as to the degree of "pastoralisation" desirable. Germany is to be left with only enough plant (except in building) to produce about half the output of 1938, and there is to be a correspondingly severe scaling down of the Reich's foreign trade. There is, however, a remarkable air of impermanence about the agreement. The British representatives on the Control Council have signed it with the reservations that the plan may need revision if any further territory is detached from Germany, if the German population exceeds 66,500,000, if Germany is not treated in future as an economic whole, or if Germany's balance of foreign payments gets out of equilibrium. It would be rash to suppose that these provisos will not become operative.

Plebiscite in Berlin

In the British, French and American sectors of Greater Berlin the plebiscite held last Sunday by the Social-Democrats has gone heavily against the proposal for fusion with the Communists in a new United Socialist Party. Out of 32,000 Party members eligible to vote—a surprisingly low figure—no less than 19,500 voted against fusion, as compared with just under 3,000 in favour. On the second question asked—"For or against a working arrangement between the Parties?"—there was a 62 per cent. majority in favour. This vote against fusion does not, of course, settle the matter. Delegate conferences of both the Social-Democrat and Communist parties in the Russian Zone of Germany and Greater Berlin will be held on April 19th, when an overwhelming vote in favour of fusion is expected. In that case, the United Socialist Party will come into being, though presumably it will not receive recognition from the Occupation authorities other than the Russians. If the new Party, as seems likely, is given a substantial measure of authority in Eastern Germany by the Russians, the result will be greatly to intensify the struggle between Social-Democrats and Communists in Western Germany.

French Socialist Policy

Last week-end, at the French Socialist Party Congress, M. Gouin returned to his Strasbourg proposal for the internationalisation of the Ruhr, Rhineland and Saar. For France, the joint occupation and administration of this "essential German knot" seems as necessary economically as it is to prevent these territories ever again becoming the "cornerstone of Prussian nationalism." The French steel industry, working at four million tons below its pre-war capacity, urgently needs the Ruhr coking coal. The Congress resolution as a whole agreed with M. Gouin, in opposing any form of annexation, but it seems to have favoured unification of the four occupation zones of Germany and continued economic international control of the Ruhr even after its political control reverts once more to Germans. Trying hard to show that his Party leans neither towards the Communists nor the M.R.P., M. Gouin said little about a Western Bloc, calling instead for a Franco-British alliance to match, and possibly merge with, the existing Franco-Soviet treaty If such a Franco-British alliance is conceived not in military terms but as an extension of the social and economic ties between the two Powers of the West, it has much to commend it. The Socialist Congress, rejecting a demand for a meeting of the Socialist-Communist co-ordinating committee to discuss joint electoral lists, decided to fight independently on a revised Socialist programme. It appears that, at the coming election, the Socialist leadership will make one more effort to maintain the precarious balance between the M.R.P. and the Communists which caused it considerable embarrassment at the last contest.

New Belgian Government

After a six weeks' interregnum, Belgium has a new Government. Profiting by the experience of M. Spaak, who formed an exclusively Socialist administration and was immediately forced to resign when he failed to secure the Liberal vote on a motion of confidence in the Chamber, M. van Acker has based his Cabinet on a coalition of Socialists, Liberals and Communists, together with three non-Party "technicians." This Left-Centre Government, with the Catholics in Opposition, provides the only possible way out of the political deadlock which had persisted in Brussels since February; and the controversial issue of the King may be left in abeyance for the time being, to preserve national unity in the reconstruction of the country. M. van Acker, however, has two difficult problems to face: he has no working majority in the Senate, and, as a Socialist, he may have to pay a heavy price for the retention of Liberal support. It will at best be an uneasy and insincere Coalition. The Liberals have secured six portfolios in the Cabinet—the same number as the Socialists, and two more than the Communists—although they are the smallest of the three parties. How far they will act as a brake on Socialist legislation remains to be seen.

The Allies in Bulgaria

Bulgaria, it seems, must after all reconcile itself to doing without "recognition" by Washington and London. After lengthy negotiations, the process of broadening the Georgiev Government, whose resignation a fortnight ago prompted the belief that there would be a reconstruction so as to include some Opposition Ministers, has broken down. The new Cabinet which has been formed consists exclusively, like the old, of members of the Fatherland Front. Under the agreements reached at the Moscow Conference last December, it was left to the Soviet Union to supervise the inclusion in the Bulgarian Government of any genuinely democratic groups hitherto excluded. Mr. Georgiev appears to have reached the view that none of the Opposition groups were prepared to collaborate loyally in his Administration's programme. In this attitude he has clearly had from Moscow what the Russians in diplomatic language would call "full support."

The T.U.C. Declares its Line

The Trades Union Congress document on national production policy, issued this week, demands the continuance and extension of Joint Production Committees and the setting-up, in each industry, of a national joint committee to deal with production questions. It dismisses the demand for a "national wage policy" as "academic and unconvincing," and stands by the system of sectional bargaining, supplemented by a continuance for the present of national arbitration machinery. While it fully endorses the need for an export drive, it argues that new goods for home consumers would help and not hinder increased exports, because they would stimulate higher output. It calls for a reconsideration of P.A.Y.E. as it affects overtime and piecework earnings, urges an appeal to women who have left industry to return to it, and approves of the postponement of retirements and of the employment, where necessary, of prisoners of war. It refuses to withdraw the demand for the forty-hour (five-day) week, which it says would increase output in most industries—a very questionable point, until there has been time for large plant extensions. It demands an increase in the proportion of "B" releases, in order to increase the supply of skilled workers. The statement, which has been issued to all Trade Unions as a guide to action, thus covers a very wide ground and in general shows a full appreciation of the seriousness of the economic situation. We could wish the T.U.C. had been plainer in pointing out to its own constituents as well as to the Government that the problem is insoluble as long as this country continues to keep anything approaching 1,200,000 men under arms or without an upheaval in the antiquated methods of production of most of our industries.

Liverpool and the Government

The campaign to save the Liverpool cotton market is now in full swing. The Master Cotton Spinners have been induced to lend the support

of their organisation, despite the presence of a strong dissentient minority; and the Labour Lord Mayor of Liverpool has also been persuaded to come out in opposition to the Government's proposal. One might suppose that no-one had ever breathed a word against the perfection of the Liverpool market until Sir Stafford Cripps came along with his wanton lust for upsetting established things. Yet we seem, for as long as we can remember anything, to have heard fierce criticism of the speculative excesses of the Liverpool cotton market and their upsetting influence on the cotton industry; whereas now one hears only complaints that under State control (which, of course, means under war conditions) cotton-users have found difficulty in getting the grades they wanted. So have most other people; the argument is obviously neither here nor there. What is plain is that in the years to come we shall need to buy our cotton as economically as we possibly can in terms of dollars and also to keep prices steady to the manufacturers by holding buffer stocks and evening out short-term fluctuations. Steady prices and bulk purchase will meet our needs much better than speculation partially offset in the old way, by hedging.

Atomic Control

The unofficial reports of the U.S. State Department's plan for Uno control of atomic energy, may be only kite-flying, but it is an attractive kite. It shows a big advance from the "sacred trust" heresies towards a world-trusteeship, with a substantial sacrifice of sovereignty. The proposals involve an Atomic Development Authority under Uno with complete control of the mining and processing of atomic materials. Manufacture of the explosive elements, research and bomb-production would be a supra-national concern. The Authority would supply to countries seeking the development of atomic energy for industrial purposes, the requisite processed material — uranium, plutonium and other fissionable elements. This material would be so "denatured" that it would not give the spontaneous devastating chain-reaction necessary for the bomb but a slow chain-reaction capable of supplying manageable energy for atomic engines. This would be supplied under inspection safeguards; but the risks of malevolent "customers" accumulating or extracting from the "denatured" material sufficient pure plutonium or U.235 necessary for bombs seem to be small.

Flogging in the West Indies

It is to be hoped that those who wish to understand the problems of colonial administration and the difficulties of Labour Ministers will read in Hansard (March 21st) the debate on corporal punishment in Trinidad. Mr. Creech Jones, the Under-Secretary for the Colonies, explained at considerable length why the Minister, Mr. Hall, had at last given way to demands from Trinidad for the reimposition of corporal punishment. Reporting this speech, our Parliamentary correspondent rightly said that the Under-Secretary for the Colonies "to his credit looked thoroughly unhappy" in giving his reply and that he looked forward to the time when, as a result of a constructive social policy, the occasions of crime would become more rare and corporal punishment be completely eliminated. Having said so much to make it clear that Mr. Creech Jones was not personally in favour of flogging, he spoke of the strange circumstances which made it possible for Labour Ministers "to champion the flogging of natives for stealing vegetables." We should apologise to Mr. Creech Jones for the word "champion"; he has a long personal record of opposition to flogging. As his sentence has been misunderstood, perhaps we should also add that corporal punishment in Jamaica had also been under discussion during the debate and that it is in Jamaica and not in Trinidad that corporal punishment has been a penalty for "praedial larceny."

PARLIAMENT: Gnashing of Teeth

Wednesday

As a spectacle or an athletic feat, an all-night Parliamentary sitting is as rewarding as a Marathon dance or a six-day cycle race. The worn-out performers follow each other with diminishing grace, while a yawning audience waits for spills. A certain playfulness developed at about 3.0 a.m. during the Committee Stage of the Trade Disputes and Trade Unions Bill. Labour members began to "recite in unison"—as Hogg put it—with Ropner who had excited their hostility by talking of "swindling the Trade Unionists."

No debate, till the present, had produced such sustained and bitter charges from the Opposition as the debates of Monday and Tuesday. If Labour members had thought that the Tories had buried their Gestapo charges with their recollections of electoral defeat, they found themselves in error. Henry Strauss (whose blue pamphlet on the Trade Disputes Act was being widely read in the Chamber during the debate), Hogg and Beverley Baxter were fiercest in their claims that the Bill attacks the future of Parliament and the Constitution and is a step towards the totalitarian state. Trade Unionists on the Government benches who have spent a lifetime resisting autocracy, had some difficulty in recognising their own motives, as seen through the eyes of the Opposition.

What the Tories resent is that the Labour Government is proceeding to put into effect "the verdict of the people." As the phrases of *Let Us Face the Future* become fact and the calm, constitutional transfer of authority takes place, the Tories' suspicions are roused that the vote of July was not an academic Gallup poll but an expression of will. Tom Proctor of Eccles made it clear that, in his view, if the 1927 Act were in the hands of Henry Strauss at a time of crisis, Trade Unionism would be destroyed.

A pleasing paradox of the debate was the sight of Labour's Trade Union members being saved from themselves by the Tories. Though one might have thought that Ernest Bevin or George Isaacs would not require any warning against the dangers of Communist penetration into the Unions, successive Tories—and an Independent or two—took it on themselves to defend Labour's position. The Trade Unionists were as proof against the Tory wooing as they were against the Tory assault.

Coincidentally with the Debate, an interesting notice of motion stood on the Order Paper in the name of Sir Alan Herbert and, among others, Astor, Aitken, Hollis, Peter Thorneycroft and W. J. Brown. Entitled "Members' Anonymous Reports," it invites the House to be of the opinion that ". . . it is contrary to the decent and friendly traditions of this House for honourable Members to write under false names public accounts of the proceedings of this House containing adverse criticism of their fellow Members, who, not knowing the identity, merit or motive of the Member attacking them, are unable to make a direct or effective reply. . . ."

The last motion of a somewhat similar character was in the 1760's. Its target was the hon. Member for Aylesbury, Mr. John Wilkes, who wrote in the first number of the *North Briton*—of which he was an editor—"*The liberty of the press* . . . is justly esteemed the foremost bulwark of the liberties of this country."

PHINEAS MINOR

NEW TOWNS FOR OLD

Official committees are apt to follow the Great Boyg's precept, and go "roundabout." Lord Reith's Committee on New Towns, in its Interim Report, wastes no words and talks a great deal of sound sense in a few pages. To be sure, its task was well defined for it in advance. It was asked to say, not whether there should be, or should not be, new towns as part of our national policy of planning, nor where (if anywhere) the new towns were to be, but on what principles "such towns should be established and developed as self-contained and balanced communities for work and living." These terms of reference were half the battle; for they implied a reasonably clear definition of a "new town" and marked such places sharply off from mere dormitory suburbs. The Committee was able to start right off from the conception of a "self-contained and balanced community," and to consider, without further ado, how such communities could and should be set up.

No doubt, Lord Reith and his colleagues could, if they had been so minded, have boggled a bit at the word "self-contained"—for what town, old or new, can be self-contained in this or, indeed, in any age? But they did not pause to argue this point: they leapt straight over it to what was plainly meant—towns where people worked as well as slept, and where a fair proportion of the same people both worked and slept. As for the word "new," they took that also in their stride, interpreting it to cover both brand-new towns on the Letchworth-Welwyn model and extensions of existing small towns.

The problem was this. Where it is felt to be desirable either to make a brand-new town or so to extend an existing small town as to render it "new," who is to undertake the job, and how, broadly, is the job to be done? There are quite a number of possible answers. The final responsibility might rest with private financiers, with local authorities or combinations of them, or with the Government. On this point the Committee's answer is simple. The Government must decide where and how many the new towns are to be. Secondly, the actual undertaking of the development, the acquisition and layout of the site, and the general responsibility for getting the thing right could be placed on private venture companies, or on housing associations under the Housing Acts, or on "authorised" (but at present non-existent) associations under the Town and Country Planning Acts, or on local authorities acting singly or in combination, or on the State directly, or on specially constituted *ad hoc* corporations—the last of these solutions having been advocated in this journal from the time when the problem began to be seriously considered at all. This last solution is given first favour by the Reith Committee, in two alternative forms—corporations sponsored and financed directly by the Treasury, and corporations sponsored and financed, with Treasury aid and Government approval, by local authorities, singly or in combination. "Authorised associations," of a non-profit making type, are not ruled out: housing associations are, as not possessing adequate all-round powers and resources; and so are all forms of profit-making enterprise. It is further insisted—very wisely—that there shall be a separate corporation for each new town, and that it shall have no other functions or responsibilities.

Of course, this ruling-out of housing associations and profit-making ventures does not mean that such concerns are to have no part. The Committee envisages the corporations as becoming, by compulsory purchase, the ground-landlords of the entire area to be built upon and of a surrounding belt of roughly three-quarters of a mile of country, but not as the actual builders of the new towns, or as the owners of most of the buildings. Where a new town is built to take the "overspill," or part of the overspill, of one or more existing congested areas, it will be natural for the local authorities concerned to provide for the rehousing of some at any rate of their transferred citizens. It will also be natural for the County Council and for the lesser councils in the areas where the new town is to be to take their parts in building it. Housing associations may also wish to come in; and so may private estate developers, backed by insurance companies or building societies with the requisite loan finance. None of these are ruled out, provided that they come in as lessees and not as owners of the land, and that they conform to the planning rules laid down by the new corporation and to any general regulations made under the Act of Parlia-

ment which will be needed to authorise the entire plan.

Plainly, however much these various agencies participate, the essential responsibility for ensuring that the new towns are real communities, and not mere aggregates of houses, will devolve on the proposed statutory corporations, which will have both to provide the basic services, such as drains and water, and to supply the necessary amenities, from parks and playing fields to halls and libraries. All this will have to be done in consultation with the inhabitants, as fast as they arise, and with a view to giving them local self-government, as soon as conditions can be made ripe. In the matter of industry, the Committee proposes that each new town shall include an industrial "trading estate," on the lines of those set up already in the Special Areas. This constitutes in effect a very welcome and necessary extension of this type of provision, and involves a substantial practical enlargement of the Board of Trade's functions in respect of industrial location.

The new towns which the Committee wants to see erected under its scheme will be of various sizes, but in general will be planned for not fewer than 20,000 or more than 60,000 people. Smaller places hardly call for the special machinery which it is proposed to set up. Where they are needed they can be provided by other agencies. Larger places it would be unwise to plan for, both because it would be difficult to find suitable sites for them and because there would be a danger of creating in them a reproduction of the very conditions of unbalanced development that they are designed to avoid. It is a much more disputable question to what extent the proposed "new towns" should be brand-new, or should be extensions of existing small towns; and the tone of the Report suggests that there have been on this question some differences of opinion among the Committee. Obviously, where a brand-new place is to be made, the planners can get a much freer hand. But against this, there are a great many existing towns which, even if their leading notables do not want them touched, are plainly incapable of giving to most of those who live in them the essentials of a satisfactory way of life. Many of these are towns which have lost their one-time position as industrial or market centres and have gone dead. There is a great deal to be said for a determined attempt to revitalise a number of these towns, as well as for building brand-new towns; and it is to be hoped that both methods will be used.

In any case, the main thing is to get ahead at once with the legislation that is needed. It should not be complicated, or highly controversial—for the Committee, chosen from all parties, is unanimous. Until it is passed and the Government have given the requisite financial guarantees there will be a serious danger of local authorities continuing to lay plans for new suburbs when they had much better plan for new towns.

There is, to be sure, in this connection one highly controversial issue which the present Report has done, and could do, nothing to settle. Some big cities would like best to build *satellite* towns at some distance from the existing built-up areas, but only on condition of being allowed to extend their boundaries to include these satellites and all the country in between. This, of course, raises major questions of local government reorganisation, and the Government should lose no time in explaining how far it is prepared to go, either generally or in special cases, in sanctioning such boundary extensions. Until that is made clear, proposals for new towns may hang fire in many parts of the country.

In general, the Report of Lord Reith's Committee is a thoroughly refreshing document. It can almost be called the first piece of sound practical replanning, except on a purely local scale, that has yet been drawn up. Let us hope that its workmanlike simplicity will not be spoilt when the official draughtsmen get their hands on it, or when Ministers and Civil Servants get down to discussing the details with all the hosts of vested interests it will necessarily affect.

JAPAN UNCHANGED

After more than half a year of occupation, careful study reveals the sobering fact that old Japan can still come back. This does not mean that in the next decade Japan can become a major aggressor all by itself. What it does mean, however, is that its canny and ruthless ruling group has managed to keep its hands on more than enough power to rank with Franco and Peron as a source of infection in an already poisoned international atmosphere.

Most of us have been lulled into a sense of security by General MacArthur's stream of fine-sounding directives. Many repressive laws have been revoked and the Japanese people have seized their new-found opportunities in a heartening display of democratic initiative. Two of the three most important newspapers have swung from the extreme Right to a position Left of Centre. Women, farmers, labourers and students are making their voices heard and rebuilding shattered popular organisations. Long-suppressed political parties are conducting vigorous campaigns. And finally there is a draft constitution which contains some of the finest words in the vocabulary of freedom.

What is wrong with this rosy picture is that all of these democratic advances are precarious beachheads. Japan's old gang has retreated under the pressure of the occupation authorities and the Japanese people. It has lost some of its most notorious and culpable leaders, but it has managed to retain the core of its power.

Last August, when Japan's rulers decided to give up, they decided their strategy for defeat. They would yield only when forced to, sabotage the democratization of Japan and fight in every way to retain in their own hands the substance of power. Thus the word went out to destroy all documents which would incriminate the guilty or betray the pattern of a police state. The next step was to carry through a drastic reshuffle of bureaucratic personnel, including governors police heads and school superintendents, with the aim of making it difficult for the occupation authorities to learn about their past misdeeds.

Despite this wholesale document-burning and reshuffling enough evidence has been gathered together to try several hundred leading members of the ruling oligarchy. But the Japanese Government is now being run by either close supporters of these war criminals or men who disagreed with them merely on tactics or timing and not on the chief objective: Japan's domination of the world. One of the leading members of the recently returned American Reparations Commission put it thus: "We have jailed the No. 1 war criminals, but the No. 2 and No. 3 men now run the show."

This is particularly important because General MacArthur is using the Japanese Government apparatus to execute his directives. These have the highly laudable objective of reconstituting Japan as a democratic country by taking power out of the hands of a small oligarchy of economic monopolists, aristocrats, feudal landlords and authoritarian bureaucrats and transferring it to the people. But he has attempted to use as the instrument for the execution of these directives a Government controlled by the very oligarchy the Americans are pledged to destroy. The Government of Baron Shidehara—who is himself a brother-in-law of Baron Iwasaki, head of the Mitsubishi interests—is instructed to end the economic stranglehold of the Mitsubishis and Mitsuis. The Baron very considerately put the fate of the monopolies in the loving hands of a committee of Japanese bankers.

The feudal landed interests have also shown remarkable ability at resisting any genuine programme of land reform that will free the millions of Japanese tenant farmers from their present status of virtual serfdom. The Supreme Commander has forced the passage of a land reform Bill providing for the sale of land to tenant farmers, financed by Government credit, and limiting individual ownership to twelve acres. But applications for such government loans must be made through the local Farm Associations which, without exception, are controlled by the largest landlords. Furthermore, many of the large landowners are splitting up their land into twelve-acre plots for sale to dummy purchasers.

Perhaps the most dangerous success achieved by the old gang has been the retention, virtually unimpaired, of the police force—the backbone of authoritarian control in Japan. More than two-thirds of the police officials were shifted to new districts. The "thought police" and other proscribed organisations were obediently disbanded, but recent check-ups have shown them continuing their operations under the guise of "food inspectors," and the like.

Kamao Sato, formerly in charge of "thought control" for the whole of Yamagata prefecture and simultaneously chief of police in the prefectural capital, still holds his job as chief of police and has managed to place a large number of his former subordinates in the "thought police" in strategic jobs, such as liaison officers with the American authorities. This sort of appointment has prevented any proper liaison between Japanese democrats and the A.M.G. A friend of mine met a Japanese with a grievance against the police. This friend suggested he take it up with the local American commander. "What's the use?" he said sullenly. "You can't get by the liaison officer at the front gate."

Working with the Fascist-minded police are men who formerly belonged to the now-disbanded Black Dragon, Dark Ocean, Heavenly Action and other secret Fascist and chauvinist groups. Although these organisations were proscribed and their top leaders arrested by the occupation authorities, their many thousands of followers are undermining the programme of democratisation like so many termites. Lt.-Gen. Kanji Ishihara was head of the East Asia Society. The Society was proscribed, but, on New Year's Day, 20,000 members of the Society came from all over Japan to hear him predict that Japan will soon rise anew. No action was taken by the counter-intelligence authorities. This is particularly serious because the hundreds of thousands of undefeated Japanese soldiers who have been repatriated from China are very vulnerable to this type of propaganda.

There are a number of other dangers. Although Japan's armed forces have been demobilised and its military equipment scrapped or taken over, it still retains a substantial industry with a serious war potential. Investigations by the American Reparations Commission showed that while Japan's current total of 800,000 machine tools is below the wartime peak of 1,100,000, it is far above 1931's 150,000.

In addition to the threat of industrial reconversion there is the possibility of the Emperor's reconversion. Hirohito is now giving a rather plausible imitation of an English-style constitutional monarch, but could readily shift back into an instrument of military aggression.

Until recently, the Japanese ruling oligarchy felt it would have to sweat out some five years of Allied occupation, but now it feels that a comeback may begin much sooner. Its optimism stems from the growth of tension between the U.S.S.R. and the Western Allies. Japanese reactionaries know full well that their best chance of retaining power is by convincing the Western Allies that only a reactionary Japan can be an effective anti-Soviet ally. Leading members of the Shidehara Government have already sounded out American generals about the possibility of restoring a small Japanese army in order to fight the Russians. They have also used this line of attack on the democratic directives. They claim to be opposed to freedom of speech and organisation because it will redound mainly to the benefit of the Communists. Demobilised Japanese soldiers have been asking American G.I.'s when recruiting would be started for a Japanese anti-Soviet brigade.

The uprooting of a feudal-Fascist regime many decades old is slow and difficult. But it is

important that the limitations of the progress so far made should be recognised. Unless the sources of World War II are completely eliminated, they may help propel us into World War III.

ANDREW ROTH

A LONDON DIARY

THE question of compulsory church parades in the Army was most effectively raised in the House last week by a group of Labour M.P.s, including Colonel Wigg, who has had twenty-five years' Army service to his credit. Jack Lawson, the Secretary of State for War, replied most sympathetically. If his answer was not as clear as it should have been, the reason, I think, was that he was not sure how far he could carry the Army Council with him. There are complications, such as special parades to the Cenotaph (which are not in question), which could be used as a loophole for maintaining the reality of compulsion even if church parades became, in theory, voluntary. Judging from speakers on the other side of the House, some such attempt to keep compulsion by hook or crook for "disciplinary" reasons is likely. New regulations on the subject may therefore be expected—and examined with great care. A "modification," which still allows commanding officers to maintain this hoary blasphemy of making men attend religious services against their will is no use at all. M.P.s must insist that in the Services—Army, Navy and Air Force—freedom to worship according to conscience is not interpreted as compulsion to worship against one's conscience.

* * *

Six hundred people packed the hall at the little town of Witham on Sunday night to listen to an international Brains Trust. Many came from long distances. Tom Driberg, the very popular M.P. for the Malden area, was question-master. The questions were answered by representatives of the U.S., Great Britain, China, Russia, France, Germany, Holland, and Indonesia. The best argument, I thought, was between the official Dutch spokesman and the very well-informed and moderate Indonesian. The latter did not attack Holland and was prepared for a sensible settlement. He insisted, as all the Indonesians I have met insist, that Mr. Sjahrir's Government is really "national" and Indonesia entitled to the status of an independent nation. The Dutch spokesman claimed, rightly I think, that Holland has been an unusually good master, as Imperialist masters go, but he seemed to me quite unable to face the fact that the people of Southern Asia are no longer what they were when he was in Indonesia before the war. The speed at which national consciousness has evolved during the war is obviously very great. Sir Archibald Clark Kerr is one of the few ambassadors who does understand this, and the idea of sending him to Indonesia is paying good dividends. The Dutch Bourbons in Holland will no doubt oppose the proposed settlement; but if the British are firm—as they must be if only to release British troops from Batavia—the chances of a decent settlement are good. I doubt if all the "extremists" will accept a moderate settlement at once, but the right policy is to make the settlement and leave Mr. Sjahrir, who is supported by an all-party committee, to persuade his countrymen to accept the first step to independence.

* * *

The B.B.C. has shown unusual courage and imagination in its Sunday night series on the Challenge of Our Age. Professor Woodward's contribution was marked by great sincerity: here was a scholar whose historical researches had left him with no confident philosophy for the human race, but with a good deal of wisdom about individual life. Politically Arthur Koestler and Desmond Bernal are at opposite poles. Koestler, a disillusioned Communist, has learnt to hate all large-scale organisation and rationalises his own conflicts into an all-embracing pessimism about the human race. Bernal, an unrepentant Communist, is furious with Koestler for denigrating the Soviet Union and making people jittery about the future instead of exhorting them to gird up their loins and see to it that scientific knowledge is used for human welfare. Bernal and Koestler, it seems to me, each speak half the truth. They are the thesis and antithesis. The synthesis wants stating. It is surely clear that if scientists organise the world efficiently and care nothing for the means they employ, they will in fact produce none of the benefits to mankind that Bernal desires. It is even more obvious that if Koestler's inhibitions make us cravenly cling to the old because we cannot face the risks of the necessary change to world Socialism, then the wars of destruction which he fears are certainties. The synthesis should not be impossible to formulate. The difficulty, in a phrase, is that those who see things all round are immobilised and obstructive, while the fanatics, who have the power to act, do so much that is irrelevant to, and destructive of, their own purposes.

* * *

The stock remark of employers in the American South, in S. Africa, and in other places where the coloured people work with the Whites, is: "I'm fond of niggers—in their place. But you've got to watch 'em, even the best of them. They are all liars and thieves and none of them will do an honest hour's work unless they know you're watching them." Challenge this generalisation and you may get some admission that there are exceptions: you will certainly get a stream of examples of the Negro servant's laziness, stupidity and moral depravity. If you wish to learn why there is a measure of truth in this indictment of the Negro as an employee, read Richard Wright's *Black Boy* (Gollancz, 8s. 6d.). It is a distressingly truthful account of the life of a Negro boy who has "ideas of his own," and finds that he can only "get by" if he docilely conforms to the peculiarly humiliating code for Negroes in the South. Under no circumstances will he be allowed to use his abilities; but if he is lazy he will be treated as indulgently as a horse between the shafts. In no circumstances will his word be taken against a White man's; as it is assumed that he will lie, he often does. If he shows signs of being clever or so far forgets himself as to display a consciousness of being as good as a White man he runs the risk of being beaten up. He will certainly be given the sack. He learns how to cheat and steal and pretends to be stupid. That's only the beginning of the diagnosis that emerges from Mr. Wright's book. It is one of the very few books I've read that I know I shall never forget. The worst incident in the story—not the most cruel, but the most serious—is that when a a Negro boy is encouraged by an unusual employer to learn a skilled trade he is prevented by White workers in the factory. The story that I shall recall most vividly is that of the Negro lift-boy, Shorty, who offers his rear to be kicked for 25 cents and usually persuades White men to make the deal. The key fact is that having kicked the boy—who had thus shown an appreciation of his proper status—the White man says: "You're all right, Shorty." The hero protests against Shorty humiliating himself. But Shorty is delighted. "Listen nigger. my ass is tough and quarters is scarce."

* * *

Republicans made electoral capital against Mr. Roosevelt because he was responsible for the "fair practices" agreements (that were, in fact, honoured more in the breach than the observance). Mr. and Mrs. Roosevelt's stand for Negro rights was misrepresented in a score of ways. Silly stories were told of "Eleanor Clubs," in which Negro women servants were supposed to swear no longer to work for White women. I asked Mrs. Roosevelt when she was recently in England whether there was any truth in the stories of restaurants in Washington refusing to allow her to enter accompanied by Negro friends. She said the stories were all false, for the simple reason that she would never think of embarrassing her Negro friends by taking them to restaurants where they would be insulted. But, for all this, the status of the Negro did improve greatly during the recent war because skilled labour was short and the Negro acquired skill. The same thing happened on a smaller scale in 1918. No question about America seems to me so significant as whether after this war the Negro is again going to be driven back off the first rungs of the ladder on which during the war he has so painfully climbed.

* * *

Mr. and Mrs. Chauncey McCormick and Mr. Daniel Rich are in England on an unusual mission. As Hector McNeil remarked at a small lunch given in their honour, it is unusual and pleasant to have Americans wanting to borrow anything from us. They want to borrow pictures—British pictures—for an exhibition in Chicago, which is now one of the great world centres of artistic study. I am glad to hear that they are borrowing not the aristocratic portraits of Gainsborough, with which they are already familiar, but the rude satires of Hogarth, the landscapes of Constable to whom all gentlemen's parks were "an abomination," and the unconventional and inspired paintings of Turner.

* * *

From Tuesday's newspapers I cull the following extracts, both dated "Athens, Monday."

> Election results are still trickling in . . . but it is now likely that Greece will have a coalition government with a broad basis and a chance of a strong and solid regime . . . E.A.M., the Left-wing coalition, has suffered a serious defeat . . . The danger of civil war, which would have been very serious had E.A.M. been strong, has now receded. (Alexander Clifford in the *Daily Mail*.)

> So far 47½ per cent. of the electorate has not voted . . . E.A.M. can be expected to base a very strong political campaign on this result and should be able to gain much support, both inside and outside Greece, for their pretensions concerning the invalidity of the election. (Sefton Delmer in the *Daily Express*.)

You pay your penny and you take your choice.

CRITIC

ESCAPIST EPIGRAM

Bard, you are evidently much distressed,
Your world-disgust appears in every line.
No doubt you're right to get it off your chest,
But don't, for God's sake, put it on to mine.

EDWARD MARSH

THIS ENGLAND

A 5/- prize for the first entry in this column goes to Mrs. Martin Broadfields.

Paste entries on postcard or slip of paper and give details of origin. Address to THIS ENGLAND, 10 Great Turnstile. W.C.1.

Eight Labour candidates and eight Independents are standing in groups, with the Vicar (the Rev. K. E. Hawkins) standing outside either group as an independent Independent.—*West Herts and Watford Observer.*

Home and Overseas. Scale of head-dresses, i.e. cap, beret, etc., increased from one to two.

As the global situation of clothing will not admit of the capital issues which would be needed to provide additional garments immediately, the increases will be implemented by the retention of the items now in wear when replacement becomes necessary in the ordinary course.—*Extract from Army Council Instruction.*

The Conservative Party was not down and out as some people thought, but they could still speak with bright eyes and rosy cheeks.—Sir Herbert Williams at Marlow, reported in *Bucks Free Press.*

After some welcome tea had been served, the return of the German people to Christianity was noted.—*The Kiel Journal.*

Since 1894 the parish of Bridgwater Without has held an annual meeting at which six councillors are elected. Last Monday's annual meeting, held in St. John's School, Bridgwater, was an historic one, because for the first time in history a member of the public attended.—Bridgwater *Mercury*.

It was a great day for Tollesbury. It is believed that this is the first time that a lady of the village has attained 100 years. Thirty-eight telegrams arrived, and when the best wishes of the King were read out to Mrs. Anthony she rose and sang the National Anthem.—*Essex County Standard*.

The first spring of peace finds us all tired, battling with an everyday life which is shadowed by austerity . . . What could provide a better tonic than Dumas's fast-moving picture of seventeenth century France, in which . . . the answer to all awkward questions is a swift thrust of the sword? —*Radio Times*.

PRISONERS' UNIVERSITY

If Authority had listened to Reason during the war (admittedly a paradoxical hypothesis) Military Government in Germany would now have at its disposal some thousands of German teachers and administrators, of proven democratic outlook and trained in democratic technique. As it is, they are unnecessarily short of trustworthy German personnel and there are only a few hundred Germans in this country who have been given the chance of studying democratic methods. "Re-education" is now at last going on in P.o.W. camps in Britain, and at Wilton Park a truly remarkable experiment is being made.

I went there to lecture last week and found, in spite of the barbed wire and patch-work clothing of a prison camp, something of the atmosphere of a University. The evening lectures are voluntary, but, as I found, practically every man in the camp turns up to hear them. A number of well-known speakers have been to Wilton Park in the couple of months of its existence and all, I think, have shared my enjoyment of an audience that is avid for knowledge, highly intelligent, and quite uninhibited in question and discussion. In the morning I visited classes given by the small resident staff; I found the students discussing the lecture of the previous night. They would have gone on all day asking questions about it and about British institutions generally if the time-table had allowed. Later I went to the third type of tuition: classes taken by experts from Oxford and London Universities who come down each day to give special courses. One of these was a discussion of the evidence and significance of the Nuremberg trials, and the discussion turned, when I was there, on how to give Uno authority and so establish on a firmer basis the principle that war-making is a "crime."

The first batch of prisoners at Wilton Park numbered about 200 and stayed there six weeks. The second "term" is now in progress; the number of students (or prisoners as you will) is now over 300. In a period of six weeks it is, of course, impossible to teach a *corpus* of knowledge; all that the staff can attempt is to open the doors to knowledge and understanding. Study centres round a few main topics. They study international affairs; the relations of States to each other and especially the history of Germany during the last eighty years. I suspect that this does more "re-educating" than anything else; boys brought up on Nazi mythology discover with astonishment how they have been tricked, how the German people have been misled (the dividends of Krupps from war makes them ponder) and how German Imperial policy is regarded by non-German eyes. Then the students learn about British institutions, not described by propagandists, but presented with their defects as well as their advantages. This illustrates the fundamental problem of the individual's place within the State and the State's job of serving the individual. In this framework little in modern history and political philosophy is irrelevant and, as far as I could judge, nothing is barred and nothing shirked.

I said there was something of the atmosphere of a University. That perhaps is putting it high. But the essentials are there. Free discussion; individual tuition and seminars with men whose job it is to understand and help their students. There is a library—with too few books. There are student activities, such as a wall newspaper, with leading articles, unsupervised, written by students, and a student printing press and an exhibition of drawing by a gifted prisoner. Rations? Ordinary Prisoner of War rations, which are about half those of the British Army. Security? Any prisoner could escape if he wished, but none do, or wish to do so. The work of the camp? Done of course by the prisoner-students in the usual way. They live in the usual huts and do the usual gardening and cleaning and prison chores. Indeed the University is a prison, physically; if it feels like a University is is because the prisoners are students, excited at the chance at long last to use their minds.

But what is to happen to them after the course, I asked. All these prisoners have been most carefully chosen as eligible for re-education. They do not know in the least what the future holds for them. Of the first 200 prisoner-students only a few seem to have returned to Germany, though many of them would surely make good teachers and administrators. I suppose there is a time-lag and that before long Authority will make use of those among them who are clearly suited to the job of beginning the "re-education" of their own country. I do not suggest that all these prisoners are adequately "re-educated" themselves, but I am sure that there are amongst them a number whose services in Germany would to-day be invaluable. Wilton Park, I believe, is discovering the nucleus of what may become a new democratic Germany.

Kingsley Martin

POLITICAL PURGE IN HUNGARY

The writer, before the war, was editor of a progressive periodical in Budapest.

A number of Hungarian quislings and terrorists were shot or hanged during the period which I recently spent in Budapest—between the middle of February and the middle of March. Two things struck me as surprising but significant about the behaviour of the leading war criminals. First, it was not the fanatical Arrowcross leader Szalasi, but the cynical opportunist, and former Premier, Bardossy—tried for dragging his country into the war—who made the most dignified end; his valedictory "God deliver Hungary from these bandits" is now cherished as a slogan by Hungarian Fascists. Secondly, there was the extraordinary confidence shown by Imredy, ex-Premier and ex-President of the Hungarian National Bank, that he could co-operate with the present rulers of Hungary. Known at one time to his admirers as the "Hungarian Salazar," and sponsor of a Nazi system just as ruthless, though more traditionalist, than that of the Arrowcross, Imredy sent from prison a memorandum to the Government, elaborating a scheme to check inflation and expressing the hope that he would be entrusted with carrying it out. The scheme, according to experts, was of no practical interest, but was significant as a psychological document. It revealed the state of mind of many thousands of Hungarians who had lived through a revolution without realising in their inmost minds that something had changed.

Hungary was too thoroughly Nazified to be cured by any single operation; that is the sad reality which underlies the recurring political crises since the establishment of the present regime. She succeeded, in chaotic circumstances, in creating a broadly based Government which, unlike the Governments in other countries similarly placed, was recognised as "democratic" by Washington and London as well as Moscow. But she could achieve this only by turning a blind eye towards the great number of minor war criminals in the Army and Civil Service. Indeed the whole population, except for the majority of the skilled workers in the trade unions and a thin Left intellectual layer, largely of Jewish extraction, was imbued with the doctrines and slogans of the extreme reactionary regime born from the terrorism of Horthy's military detachments in 1919–20 and developed into a semi-Fascist system by the late Premier Gömbös and his successors from 1932 onwards.

Not that the German Nazis enjoyed great popularity with the common people or even with the ruling caste; in fact, to be witty about Prussianism and goose-stepping was considered "smart." But the Hungarian brought up in Horthy's quarter of a century took for granted a number of things which geared his efforts to the German drive for power. His belief in the merits of a gendarmerie coached in the spirit of authoritarian sadism, his obsession with treaty "revisionism," and his belief that the priority of things of "military importance" must never be questioned drove him into the position of Hitler's satellite, however strongly he had made up his mind to "defend Hungarian independence." Finally, the displays of German militarism made an irresistible impression. Not even the Red Army's crossing of the Hungarian frontier could dispel this. The most astonishing and depressing story I heard in Hungary concerned the state of mind of the Nazified masses of people in the besieged city of Budapest some fifteen months ago. Although many of its inhabitants greeted one another with the latest news from the B.B.C. or other "enemy" sources, others (and mainly those who would have been in a position to organise some armed resistance), even when the city was already surrounded, and the German Army crumbling on all fronts, passed the news on to one another that V3 and V4 had come into action, that masses of British planes had been brought down by recently invented German death-rays, and that the High Command only concealed the fact for tactical reasons. News, even from German sources, of a German defeat was unbelievable. "I still can't understand why Hitler hasn't come back to liberate Budapest," Szalasi said at his trial.

Hungary is to-day governed by a Coalition consisting of four parties. The majority party, the Independent Smallholders, has a progressive liberal programme; its partners are the Social Democrats, the Communists and the youngest partner, the National Peasants' Party—a peculiar mixture of personalities and tendencies which can, broadly speaking, be described as Socialist. Neither these nor the small Opposition parties, including the recently expelled Right Wing of the Smallholders, made any promise in their election programmes to revive or to maintain the ideas and institutions which the average Hungarian was taught between the two World Wars to cherish. Where, then, are those masses of Hungarians to-day who have so little in common with their present Government? So far as they are politically anywhere, they are in or behind the very parties which have liquidated the heritage of the Horthy regime. They were offered an easy change of front and took advantage of it. A friend of mine described the position thus: the M.E.P. (the great Government party of the Horthy regime) merged into the Smallholders' Party; Imredy's Nazi party into the National Peasants' Party; the Arrowcross into the Communist Party. Only the Social Democratic Party can be said to be free of Fascist accretions, although they, too, have their opportunists.

This description is over-simplified but not very far from the truth. The ideological blend of the National Peasants, with its rudiments of Blood and Soil mysticism, attracted many incompletely converted Fascists, and allegiance to Communism offered itself as the most hopeful

disguise to the minor Arrowcross blackguards. Some of the industrialists complained to me that "we could get on quite well with the Communists of the former Underground cells, but the ex-Nazis are unmanageable"; it is these, they say, who stage strikes, who chase managerial staffs off the premises, who shout the loudest against "reactionaries." Such accounts should be accepted with caution; but it is true that on many an occasion the most violent "Communist" offenders turned out to be former *Volksbund* or Arrowcross members who like excesses for their own sake. In fact, however, the majority of the Fascists and reactionaries crowded into the Smallholders' Party. And if they did not join it, they voted for it, even with a Left party badge in their buttonholes. The simple reason was that the Smallholders' Party seemed the "least evil" to them, the only workable alternative to a Marxist-controlled majority. The Smallholders' Party was swamped with people who did not believe in its progamme.

This unnatural gap between the programme and the rank and file cropped up on any and every occasion. At the preparatory committee meetings about such subjects as the Act for the Defence of the Republic, the fulfilment of the Government's pledge to nationalise the mines and some key industries, or the purging and cutting down of the Civil Service (which had been demanded for fiscal and political reasons alike), the Smallholders' deputies followed a go-slow strategy, in conformity with their lukewarm attitude. In Parliament their spokesman who moved the Act to declare Hungary a Republic did so almost apologetically, pointing out the benefits of Monarchy; and when, on another occasion, he made some "revisionist" remarks, he got tremendous applause, which evoked memories of Horthy's foreign policy. Smallholder cheers greeted, too, the mention of the name of Prince Primate Mindszenthy, after he had been formally condemned by the party (which has several Catholic priests in leading positions) as well as by the Left parties, for his attack on the present regime because of its land reform policy and its prosecution of war criminals. Such were the events which led to the crisis some weeks ago. The parties of the Left, and particularly the Communists, pressed for a purge in the Smallholders' Party and threatened to leave the coalition unless this was carried out; the Smallholders answered that a purge within their own ranks had been what they themselves wanted, though they refused to carry it out under threats. Finally a score of M.P.s were expelled from the Smallholders' ranks.

The crisis was thus ended; and, since it contributed to clearing the atmosphere and restoring confidence amongst the ruling partners, the solution should be welcomed. Democracy in Hungary is by no means dead. Some doubt may, however, arise about the present management. The choice of M.P.s for expulsion was largely determined by recent tactical moves; some comparatively progressive politicians who had been prompted to clumsy remarks by personal touchiness were labelled as reactionaries, while the bulk of the Right Wing Smallholders obtained a political amnesty as a reward for keeping their mouths shut at the right moment. It is not yet certain whether attempts will not be made—from within the Smallholders' Party as well as by the Left—to make the excluded members resign their seats; this, according to Hungarian law, would mean their replacement by another score of Smallholder deputies. A sounder course for Hungarian democrats to take would be to encourage a greater number of the Smallholders' Right Wing to leave the Coalition, and form a Conservative Opposition. The present programme of the Hungarian Government is not substantially different from what a British Labour Party would aim at in similar circumstances. A Progressive Government is compatible with a Conservative Opposition, whether this contains a score of members or three times as many.

PAUL IGNOTUS

SOCIALISM AND EUROPE

THE fate of Europe, like everything else, including the Uno Charter, depends ultimately on the relations of the principal victors. There are three choices. The first is an Anglo-American alliance so framed as to confer, in Mr. Churchill's words, "No quivering, precarious balance of power," but on the contrary "an overwhelming assurance of security." What he meant was such a preponderance of power as to enable the English-speaking nations to impose their will on the rest of the world, particularly the U.S.S.R. But could they? The United States General Staff has come to the conclusion since the end of the war that, even with the whole rest of the world, including the British Empire, to help them, the United States could not inflict a decisive defeat on the Soviet Union.

The second choice is the policy of the Western Bloc. During the war it was the Eden-Foreign Office "line," as distinct from the Churchillian idea of an Anglo-American Alliance. It is based on a very old conception, which after the first world war assumed the form of the Locarno Treaties. As Mr. Eden said in the House on March 26th, 1936: "The truth is . . . there was nothing very new in Locarno. It was a new label, but it was an old fact, that has been the underlying purpose of the British foreign policy throughout history." Indeed, the Locarno Treaties were a modern form of the traditional policy of the balance of power; and the Western Bloc is merely a truncated or rump Locarno. The Locarno policy aimed at detaching the whole of Germany from Russia and aligning her with the Western Powers. The advocates of the Western Bloc are more modest—they are only trying to detach and incorporate Western Germany in their combination. But, like the makers of Locarno, they regard the U.S.S.R. and Communism as influences they must counteract in Europe.

When the Locarno Treaties were concluded, the infant Soviet Union was weak and the old social order had been stabilised in the rest of Europe. To-day the Soviet Union is stronger in, and has more influence over, most of the Continent than we; and the old social order, after rough handling in Hitler's economic system, has been shattered by the war and the overthrow of Fascism, and threatens to collapse in chaos and starvation.

After the first world war the Social-Democratic parties, whom most of the workers of Europe followed, had their chance to ride the first wave of the social revolution to victory. They failed in one country after another, and always for the same fundamental reason: they were more afraid of fighting the defenders of capitalism on behalf of the workers, in order to replace capitalism by Socialism, than they were to fight the workers in defence of capitalism. Their ideological justification for this attitude was that they were defending Western civilisation, democracy and constitutionalism. In Germany the Right-wing Social-Democrats, Ebert, Scheidemann and Noske, gave a classic demonstration of the nature and consequences of this type of Social-Democratic leadership. They began by calling in the German General Staff to help them shoot down the German workers, in the name of saving democracy and the constitution, and ended by capitulating to Hitler in order to avoid shedding blood. The story of Italy was similar and ended with the advent of Mussolini. The Russian Mensheviks were of the same flabby material and ended as the stooges of Czarist and Japanese Generals. In France the French Socialists under Blum betrayed the Spanish workers out of sheer cowardice. A large fraction under Paul Fauré went through pacifism to collaborationism before and during the war, and a still larger section voted for Pétain's dictatorial reform of the constitution. Even the reconstituted French Socialist Party clung to General de Gaulle, and now can hardly bear to part company with French reaction, which is being reconstituted in and behind the M.R.P.

This picture to be sufficiently brief is oversimplified and perhaps too harsh. It also leaves out the faults of the Communists, which were equally numerous and grave but of a different character. But it does convey the main point, which is that most of the workers of Europe have turned away from Social-Democratic leadership to the Communists, because the former are spineless and the latter are fighters, determined to lead the second wave of the social revolution to victory in Europe.

Against this background it should be clear that the Western Bloc policy suffers from three fatal defects. First, we lack the power to carry it out. If even an Anglo-American combination isn't enough, a Western European Bloc is merely silly in terms of power politics.

Secondly, there is no hope of the States concerned joining us in this policy. In Norway, for instance, there is such a large minority in favour of a Soviet orientation that no Norwegian Government would join any European combination of Powers unless it were based on Anglo-Soviet agreement. Nor would Denmark. In Belgium the Socialists cannot govern without the support of the Communists, and the two together could and would oppose a Western Bloc policy by the reactionary Catholic Party. In France, the Communists are the biggest Party, and according to a *France-Soir* Gallup Poll will come back after the next election nearly 150 strong, while the Socialists, Radicals and M.R.P. will have about 100 seats each. In these circumstances it is foolishness to imagine France joining a Western Bloc unless it were based on an all-European agreement with the U.S.S.R.

Thirdly, what has the Western Bloc policy to offer the workers of Europe? In the American Zone of Germany, Socialists who preach unity with the Communists are summarily arrested. In the British Zone we are more discreet but equally emphatic in "discouraging" any moves for Socialist-Communist unity. Anglo-American influence is being thrown behind Right-wing Social-Democrats, who are becoming pocket Eberts and Noskes, relying not on their own General Staff but on the Anglo-American military occupation to protect them against the Left and to find them a modest niche in the "non-political" regimes of Catholics, business-men, "moderates" and "indispensable Nazis" with which we are filling the political vacuum we have created in Western Germany. Add to that the proposal for partitioning Germany. How can the Western Bloc-ites compete on that basis with the Communists, who offer national and working-class unity, the prospect of self-government, social reconstruction and the friendship and co-operation of the Soviet Union?

The third choice is the only one that will work. It is a tragedy that it has not yet been tried by the Labour Government. It is to base our European policy on the Anglo-Soviet Alliance, which pledges us and the Soviet Union to be partners in the economic reconstruction and political organisation of Europe. The French, as Premier Gouin has just stated, are anxious to join with us and the U.S.S.R. in that policy. The Americans would accept a joint Anglo-Franco-Soviet lead in Europe. What is needed is to take seriously the statement in the Labour Party's report on the *International Post-War Settlement* that "Socialism is a fundamental necessity" for the attainment of our international aims, notably "against unemployment, poverty, . . . Fascism and all forms of political slavery" and in order "to promote the spread of democracy and political freedom."

To base European reconstruction and the revival of democracy in Europe on Socialism means working with all Parties that are prepared to accept that programme. Most of the working-class leadership of Europe is now in Communist hands, and the Socialists who have not passively or actively gone over to the reaction are co-operating with the Communists. Political democracy and civil liberties do not exist over most of Europe to-day and have not existed for many years; in large parts of Europe they have never

existed. They cannot appear or revive except during and after an advance toward Socialism.

It is folly for our Left-wing intellectuals to dream of anything like British Parliamentary democracy springing Phoenix-like from the ashes of capitalist civilisation in Europe. It is a new *trahison des clercs* for them to flee in panic into the arms of the Western Bloc toughs when the dream evaporates.. If we play ball with the Russians they will play ball with us. The Diplomatic Correspondent of *The Times*, on returning from Moscow, recorded last April the emphatic view of Soviet leaders that they do not want to spread the Soviet system to Europe, but believe that it would be in the interests of both Britain and the Soviet Union to help in establishing what one or two of them called "the new democracy."

"That would mean regimes somewhere between the Soviet and the capitalist-individualist systems; a regime in each country with firm social security, state control of primary industries, land reform and a Government which would exclude the Parties of the Right and be based on forces from the centre to the Left including Communists."

I see no reason why we should not discover a common purpose with the U.S.S.R. and France in Europe on those lines, provided that the Labour Government is prepared to apply the Party's own foreign policy and to end the idyll of "national unity" with the Tories in that field. And I have enough faith in the workers of Europe and in the traditions of European civilisation to believe that through successful Socialist reconstruction we shall arrive at democracy and freedom of speech. For those who lead the masses, whether they be Communists or Socialists, or, as I hope, both, working hand in hand, must heed the needs and respect the wishes of their followers or forfeit their leadership. And the workers really do want freedom as well as justice.

K. ZILLIACUS

MUSIC IN SCANDINAVIA

To stand in the blue Stockholm twilight before the Royal Opera House, and to see in flaring red letters the words PETER GRIMES—that is certainly an agreeable experience for an Englishman. Importers of opera for so long, we suddenly find ourselves with a highly exportable lyric commodity on our hands. Half-a-dozen other cities, among them Vienna and Berlin, are planning to give *Grimes;* but Stockholm was the first. Of the Swedish *première* I hope to write more fully elsewhere; here I need only remark that it was a capital performance, reflecting the greatest credit on the Opera House as an institution; on Harald André, its Director, who also produced; and on Herbert Sandberg, who handled the complex score with enthusiasm and fine musicianship. As one had foreseen, what told most, compared with the Sadler's Wells performances, was the greater amplitude of scene and orchestra; I still dream of hearing the Storm and the Passacaglia played by those Bostonians whose conductor commissioned the work, but even the addition of twenty strings to the forces available in Rosebery Avenue transformed many passages out of all belief.

The Swedish musicians and critics were, almost without exception, enthusiastic. The character of Grimes himself encountered some objection on the score of inadequacy, and one critic remarked with penetration that the opera might better have been called *The Fishing Borough*. But the power, richness and technical resource of the score evoked general admiration. In England we have become so used to full houses and wild enthusiasm (not only for *Grimes*, but also for the feeblest of entertainments) that it was a little difficult to gauge the response of the stolid Swedish public. Interested, I should say, even impressed, but a little puzzled—as a Sadler's Wells audience might have been if confronted with *Mathis der Maler* or *Wozzeck*.

Unluckily, none of the Opera's outstanding recent productions was played during my visit; influenza, as well as the severe demands of *Grimes*, restricted the repertory. What I most regretted having missed was an opera called *Lyckoslighetens Ö* (*The Isle of the Blest*), by Hilding Rosenberg, who is one of Sweden's leading contemporary composers. This work was produced last year, with notable scenery by the painter Isaac Grünewald, and I am told that William Walton, on his recent (and highly successful) visit to Sweden, was much impressed by its qualities. If, as we all hope, the Stockholm Opera really comes to Covent Garden in June, I understand that *Lyckoslighetens Ö* is to be included in the repertory.

How little we know, to-day, of the contemporary music of any other country! The French and the Russians have put themselves on the musical map, the Dutch are beginning to make themselves felt, the Americans crop up from time to time—and there we come to a full stop. For England the entire Scandinavian peninsula is represented by the single massive name of Sibelius, who has been silent for twenty years. One could make no objection if this opinion proceeded from the testing and rejection of other composers; but in fact it proceeds only from ignorance. Strangest of all is the case of Carl Nielsen. This Danish composer (1865–1931) is regarded by almost every Dane, and by most Swedes, as a figure of European stature. His opera, *Maskarade*, which I heard in Copenhagen, seems to me, I confess, of purely local interest; but its music is astonishingly different from the beautifully wrought chamber music and piano pieces, of which many capital gramophone records exist in Denmark. Could not the British Council (whose activities ought not, I think, to be purely one-way) help to establish some musical centre in London at which all published scores and records of modern foreign music could be made generally available for students, critics and conductors? Performances might then follow which would sift the valuable from the merely novel. We are not really so insular as we are painted; we are genuinely curious about the world from which we have been cut off for so long; and in the special case of Sweden we feel a natural desire to continue the exchange of hospitality now so happily begun.

DESMOND SHAWE-TAYLOR

RADIO NOTES

The Human Mind. Mrs. Pain is at it again—and very competently, too. Of the first two programmes in her new series the second seemed to me the more successful; the first was entertaining enough as a parlour game, but inconclusive. Psychiatry is, as a subject, much more rewarding; the programme treated it sensibly and clearly, and the dramatisations (with Ivor Barnard excelling as usual as an underdog) were particularly convincing. But I think it was a mistake to have switched to another case, just as we were getting interested in Mr. Barrett's neurosis. It is the *progress* of a psychological cure that is chiefly interesting to the layman. Incidentally I derived the impression from this broadcast that psycho-analysis has short-circuited its methods during the past six years; if this is true, so much the better for our pockets as well as for our souls.

What a shame that Alistair Cooke's psychiatrist friend cannot find a place to lay his head in New York! While making us feel the pathos of situations like that, this prodigious broadcaster neatly and succinctly and wittily sketches in some of the salient features of life in the States to-day. The whole thing is lively and agreeable in the extreme: Alistair Cooke is a star. The States grow commentators and foreign correspondents just as France grows wine and England poets; the achievement is unapproachable.

The Naturalist. James Fisher and the fabulous Dr. Koch combined in an entirely fascinating programme about the cuckoo. It is necessary, one feels, that so strange an aberration of nature should have an odd voice; but how often in life is one aware of the *counterpoint* of birdsong, as one was made aware of it by Dr. Koch's recordings? Go into the nearest garden, one of these lovely spring days, shut your eyes and listen. . . .

The Voyage of the Beagle. After rather a wobbly start, this feature turned out to be a great improvement on the first programme in the series. The story of Charles Darwin's journey to South America is none the less absorbing because it lacks the startling peripeties of some other voyages. We had time to become interested in the characters, and since the script writer was George Orwell the narrative had the maximum of point.

The Challenge of Our Time. It would have been impossible for any feeling person not to be carried along by the stream of Professor Bernal's fervent eloquence; but reflection was bound to warn us that scientists have a vested interest in optimism, and that vague talk about free individuals all working together for the common good has been heard before, at other stages of history, with disappointing results. Nearly all "enlightened" thought in the nineteenth century (decried by Professor Bernal) was indeed based on the assumption that Progress could be made indefinite by means of Science—a faith that was taken to be sufficient in itself to carry men forward. I think we see where that disastrous fallacy landed us. There is, in fact, no reason whatever to suppose that the material benefits conferred by scientific discovery, no matter how spectacular these may be, will prove any more efficient, as a felicific, in future than they have been in the past. Something further is needed, and that something is a metaphysical system which takes science in its stride. It is easy enough nowadays to get cheap applause with sneers at "sour-faced intellectuals," and Professor Bernal stooped to pick up that double-edged weapon; but the question is none the less begged. What we need is men of science who are not so intoxicated with their own speciality that they cannot resist seeing it as a utopian panacea.

RECOMMENDATIONS: *Sunday, April 7th.*—Concert (2.30 p.m.); The Challenge of Our Time (E. M. Forster, 9.15 p.m.).

Monday, 8th.—Portuguese Light Music (1.55 p.m.); Hamlet (7.20 p.m. and 9.15 p.m.) Mozart Quartet (11.25 p.m.).

Tuesday, 9th.—Budget Broadcast (9.15 p.m.); British Painting (11.3 p.m.).

Wednesday, 10th.—Music of Our Time (7.45 p.m.); Budget Broadcast (Opposition, 9.15 p.m.).

Thursday, 11th.—"Its Your Money They're After" (L.P. 9.30 p.m.).

Friday, 12th.—In the Margin (6.20 p.m.); What is a Great Power? (7.30 p.m.); The Man from Belsen (9.30 p.m.). Lekeu and Satie (11.45 p.m.).

EDWARD SACKVILLE WEST

THE MOVIES

"La Fin du Jour," at Studio One
"La Bête Humaine," at the Curzon
"Hotel du Nord," at the Carlton, Tottenham Court Road
"The Captive Heart," at the Odeon
"The Postman Always Rings Twice," at the Empire

Spring comes with sunshine and almond. Builders' tap, the holiday-maker is early. A child imagines all buses are bound for the Zoo. I have never known London to *look* so full, at any rate in its central parts where the crowds gather. Happily one can find now a queue for every hour of the day, beginning with the boot queue before breakfast and ending outside the Corner House at midnight. The traffic waits for a half-mile or so in the West End, and failing anything else we can always queue up outside a cinema. Within the twilight knows no season—unless *Getting Gertie's Garter* or *The Bells of St. Mary's* is your idea of spring. The new films disappoint. There is, however, a considerable show of revivals, including *The Lost Week-end*, *Pinocchio*, *Dark Victory*, *The Seventh Veil*, and the three French films listed above. The Hampstead Everyman, now reopened, will be showing *Double Indemnity* next week, and *Quai des Brumes* the week after. Stroheim's *Greed*—a monument to the generations of talent that have gone to waste in Hollywood—was considered a Sunday or two ago by members of the New London Film Society. For the first time, in fact, London can boast a respectable film repertory, and those who prefer a good film to a bad one are free to indulge their eccentricity. How long will it last? When the present shortage of new entertainment disappears, shall we see a relapse into spoon-fed habits? No, I don't see why. The public that attends National Gallery concerts and puts *Peter Grimes* in a class above *Nymph Errant* exists also in

the cinema; will continue to exist and to grow. Let us hope that enough films of quality will be in circulation and on the way to feed that appetite.

Everyone who has been to *La Fin du Jour*, whether for the second or the first time, has come away with the same feeling—what a treat! To encounter in a film acting of the first rank, acting with a largeness of its own which yet never overreaches itself, is rare indeed; the camera has even been judged inimical to such performances. So in general it may be; but thank heaven for the exception! And where other than in an old actors' home should we look for acting? Its inmates go on performing to themselves or to others, quietly, incorrigibly, pathetically. Michel Simon's portrayal of an old buffoon, who has never been nearer to success than understudying it, is masterly in every detail—the best virtuoso display I remember seeing in any film. Hardly less admirable if less eye-taking is Victor Francen in a study of the unsuccess that has soured integrity and talent; and this is a performance that gains by stealth when one sees it repeated. Of course, neither performance would be worth remembering if Duvivier's film were not, despite some weaknesses, strong in character and situation. It is sad to reflect that to-day Duvivier is wasting himself on rubbish, and that Francen is cast for thriller roles as a diplomat or master-spy.

There is not much to add about *La Bête Humaine* and *Hôtel du Nord* except that both—and especially the first—are near-masterpieces in the genre that produced *Quai des Brumes* and *Le Jour se lève*. Hollywood's *The Postman Always Rings Twice* is a sad descent into sugared squalors which I found æsthetically and morally disgusting.

One half of *The Captive Heart* is very good indeed—that depicting the lives of English soldiers in a *Stalag* and filmed on the spot: the other half keeps flitting home to the magazine situations the boys have left behind them. Mr. Redgrave—it's hardly his fault—has to write to someone else's wife pretending he's her husband and then fall in love with her. Pity, because this film might have been remarkable. As it is, *The Captive Heart* is well worth visiting for the authenticity of the camp scenes and for the co-operation of Jack Warner, Basil Radford and others.

WILLIAM WHITEBAIT

AN INDIAN BALLET

Sakuntala: Embassy Theatre

This is the most successful effort hitherto made by West to meet East in the sphere of dance. *Sakuntala* is a ballet on the theme of Kalidasa's famous dream, and is performed, chiefly by Europeans, in an Indian dance-idiom. This idiom sometimes proves beyond their physical capacities, especially with regard to head and neck movements and facial expression, just as certain sounds in a foreign language are almost impossible to acquire. But the choreography is so interesting and the performance in some respects so admirable that it needs no apology. Ernest Berk, the choreographer, who dances the exacting part of King Dushyanta, is an offshoot of the Wigmann School who has evidently made a genuine study of Indian dance technique, and effectively enriched his own expressionistic technique. He is an outstanding choreographer, and in some respects a fine dancer, though his facial expression is still much too naturalistic. His wife, Lottie Berk, is admirable as Sakuntala, and never gives the impression of struggling with an alien technique. The dance portraying her toilet, a favourite Indian dance-*motif*, is beautifully performed and exquisitely accompanied on the *veena* by that fine musician Narayana Menon, who directs the small orchestra of Indian instruments. James White, who takes three important parts, is a fine dramatic dancer, and Ronald Prince deserves mention as the King's jester. Retna Mohini, a Javanese dancer whom many will remember as Ram Gopal's principal partner, introduces, of course, a very different standard of perfection, but her beautiful dances form part of a court entertainment, so do not clash too violently with the style of the Europeans. The same may be said of Rekha Menon, who, though not so fine or experienced a dancer as Retna Mohini, is a charming and authentic Indian dancer. The costumes are ingenious and beautiful, and the whole ballet so admirably designed that it well deserves the warm reception it has received. A third performance will be given on Monday, the 8th of April.

B. DE Z.

THREE SHOWS

At the Roland, Browse and Delbanco Gallery there is a rich loan-collection of English pictures, chosen to represent the "lyrical" mood, which seems difficult to distinguish from what is usually called romanticism. Turner dominates, as he must in any such exhibition from which Constable is absent; Turner's genius indeed becomes more and more impressive, just as a mighty peak is best seen from a particular distance. Blake, Samuel Palmer, Innes, Derwent Lees and Ivor Hitchens reveal in this assembly what they have in common. A beautiful and unfamiliar Whistler hangs near a vaporous Steer and opposite, a Pasmore. One purpose of the exhibition is to increase public interest in the Contemporary Art Society which urgently needs new members in order to enlarge its valuable activities. Every year it purchases a number of modern pictures for presentation to museums, and thus deserves help from everyone who cares for painting.

The English water-colours now on view at Agnew's are the finest collection I have ever seen. I can only urge repeated visits. At the Victoria and Albert Museum there is a show of small sculptures from the 5th century to the 20th; a representative collection of English ceramics, the modern examples too unanimously austere; and delightful things by Caldecott and Kate Greenaway.

ROGER MARVELL

KLEPTOMANIA

When the Soviet trespass on Persia's garden
The Uno Council comes into play;
The Persians flutter, the Russians harden,
But the world tribunal will not delay.
Soviet eyes on Tripolitania
Confirm suspicion of kleptomania,
The Soviet tactics they cannot pardon,
The voice of Uno must have its say.

Kleptomania down the ages
Was provocation to constant strife,
Afflicting Empires in earlier stages
Though sublimated in later life.
All hidden pressure and masked aggression
Show kleptomaniac obsession,
But the Uno Charter at last engages
No kleptomaniac shall run rife.

Uno rests upon new foundations,
The rule of force it will not condone,
Armed incursions and depredations
Will henceforth be in the world unknown.
Global order today replaces
The rush for ports and the race for bases,
Ex-kleptomanic Uno nations
Their moral lapses have long outgrown.

When Persia's case at the bar is pleaded
Equal justice will be assured,
The march of conquest must be impeded,
The urge to plunder must be abjured.
Uno hails this supreme occasion
For high example and moral suasion;
Uno's Charter is proof, if needed,
That kelptomania can be cured.

SAGITTARIUS

GIVE YOUR FRIENDS ABROAD "N.S.&N." Subscriptions: Supplies for OVERSEAS are now unrestricted. **A POSTAL SUBSCRIPTION** to any address in the world costs: Yearly, 32s. 6d. Six months, 16s. 3d. Three months, 8s. 6d. BY AIR to any country in Europe £2 7s. 6d. yearly, and to other countries by special quotation.
NEW STATESMAN AND NATION
10, Gt. Turnstile, London, W.C.1. *Hol.* 3216.
POSTAGE on this issue is: Inland, 1½d.; Foreign, 1d.; Canada, 1d.

AIR TRAVEL
INSURE Yourself and your Baggage
WITH
THE LONDON & LANCASHIRE INSURANCE CO LTD
Chief Administration:
7, Chancery Lane, London, W.C.2
WORLD-WIDE FACILITIES —WORLD-WIDE COVER

MECHANIZED PRODUCTION

For more than one hundred and fifty years we have been supplying good clocks and watches and for generations we made them, one at a time, by hand.
Nowadays science has mechanized production and expert knowledge is essential in differentiating class production from mass production.
When you want a clock or watch consult Camerer Cuss and get a good one.
CAMERER CUSS
Clocks Watches Jewellery
NEW OXFORD STREET · LONDON · W.C.1
DHB

THIS MAN THOUGHT OF HIS FAMILY
He was 32 and fit. Suddenly he was taken ill and died. Six months before, he had insured his life, and in his will he left his widow a
PRUDENTIAL "Heritage" POLICY
She has been paid **£100**
She will receive for nearly 20 years **£3** a week
And then - - - **£900**
To THE PRUDENTIAL ASSURANCE CO. LTD., Holborn Bars, London, E.C.1
I desire full particulars of your "Heritage" POLICY.
NAME
DATE OF BIRTH
ADDRESS
N.S. 6 4 46 P.P.S18

'Take my advice Smoke Grand Cut: It never burns the tongue'

Grand Cut
2 OZ. 5/-
ISSUED BY GODFREY PHILLIPS LIMITED

Correspondence

COMMUNISM AND SOCIALISM

SIR,—In considering the policy for Germany advocated by Professor G. D. H. Cole in your issue of March 16th, surely one should bear in mind the examples of successful international co-operation there have been in Germany since the end of the war. May it not be unwise to sacrifice this practical gain on the altar of Social Democracy?

I was in Germany from August to December of last year and, although I found much to criticise at the time, I find it annoying when people suggest that all that has been jointly achieved by the four Allies should now be undone—for that is what is implied by Professor Cole's proposals. One was struck by the harmonious working of the Kommandatura (the inter-Allied administration of Berlin), which has pulled the population of Berlin through this difficult winter and revived communal life in the city. The outstanding success of the Nuremberg trials, viewed as an essay in international co-operation, is also too often overlooked nowadays. It is true that the Allied Control Commission has not yet assumed supreme administrative authority, as was originally intended, but it has not wasted its time and has some practical achievements to its credit, for instance, the removal of the German population from the Eastern territories and the considerable progress that has been made in the matter of reparations. Moreover, now that a plan for the level of German economy has been agreed upon, there are good hopes that a greater degree of economic co-operation between the four zones may be achieved.

The advantages of firm international control of Germany would be tremendous, not only because it would help to link the four Powers more closely together, but also because of its effect upon the Germans. No one who has spent some time in post-war Germany can fail to have noticed that what the Germans desire above all else is a split between the Allies. Every Britisher is told how much he is the superior of the Americans, French and Russians and is duly flattered—unless he is lucky enough, as I was, to meet many of our American, French and Russian colleagues, and to realise that exactly the same type of propaganda is being pumped into them. In this way, the Germans hope to weaken the morale of their conquerors and so, at some later time, to rise again and take their revenge. Complete unity among the Allies is the only way to teach the Germans the valuable lesson that future aggression is impossible.

I must confess that I fail to see the gravity of the "political issue of Germany" raised by Professor G. D. H. Cole. At the first meeting of the Communist Party of Germany, held in Berlin on March 3rd, the main criticisms of the administration of the British Zone were that there had been no land reform, that industry too often remained in the hands of its former Nazi owners and that de-Nazification generally had not been adequately carried out; criticisms which have since been endorsed by Sir Walter Citrine, who can hardly be accused of Communist sympathies. They are also endorsed—for in fact they are only too well-grounded—by German Social Democrats.

Professor Cole appears to identify in some degree Social Democracy and the type of democracy which is common to Britain, France and the United States. In tackling concrete problems in Germany to-day, compromises have in many instances been found between the "democratic" and "Communist" methods. Is it, then, not possible that "democratic" methods may continue to prevail or have their rightful influence without the artificial bolstering-up of German Social Democracy? If the policies of democracy and Communism can be well and truly intermingled in Germany as, in fact, is happening, we shall not only be well on the way to solving the problem of Germany, we shall also have created a sound precedent in international collaboration and understanding.

JOYCE SIBLY

The Grove,
Stonehouse, Glos.

SIR,—Robert Boothby has appealed once more for a Western Bloc, and in his letter has deployed some incontrovertible arguments in its support.

The argument is familiar. Those of us who recognise that there must be a third alternative to the rigid collectivism of Soviet Communism and the ingenuous knock-about Capitalism of the U.S.A. if a clash is to be avoided, realise that this alternative involves the creation of a Western Union. For us now the problem is not: What must be done? It is: In the political circumstances of our time, how can it be achieved? To this Boothby offers no solution.

Unless we can discover that solution, and work for it, our policy will remain negative based on fear and uncertainty. As he points out, that ensures the ultimate catastrophe.

The Communist Parties oppose the Western Bloc on the grounds that it represents aggressive intent against Russia, and in the last resort would join up with U.S.A. Though that is not in fact our motive, nevertheless for us to press it now in the present circumstances is to defeat our object, for it would lend strength to their argument and help the Communists into power in Europe. Communist Europe would refuse to federate with us. What then are we to do?

First, we must recognise that a United States of Europe is not desired in order to enhance British security; it is desired merely because it is politically and economically essential. It has no direct relation to security any more than the refusal to have Europe united provides security to Russia. Security is to be had in Uno *and nowhere else*. It is all or nothing, do or die. This is the first point. The second is to make that principle a reality. It becomes a reality only when Uno controls the atom bomb and has its own truly supra-national army to which we European Social-Democrats have become sufficiently intelligent to entrust our total defence.

When Uno takes full control of atomic explosives and has been given the right to recruit its own armed force, and not before, one other adjustment will still be necessary and must be made, before we shall be able to form the Western Bloc. The right of veto will have to be abolished in cases of disputes arising out of alleged acts of aggression. Here we shall need to define "aggression." It is, I suggest, "An attack with weapons of violence by a sovereign State or the citizens of that State upon the defined territory of another sovereign State." The corollary is that each so-called sovereign State must have its boundaries defined and agreed by Uno and its map pinned upon the walls of the Security Council. When all this has been achieved, through Uno, step by step, then the moment has arrived for the constitution of a disarmed federal union to be laid before Uno with a request that it be sanctioned and underwritten by Russia and the United States and the majority of the other nations who will be affected by it, but will not wish to come into it. The *quid pro quo* of the economy resulting from the Union's proposed disarmament would be an undertaking by the Union (or United Commonwealth of Nations as I prefer to call it) unilaterally to subscribe in funds and manpower to the establishment of an augmented Uno Army.

These seem to be the logical steps which must be taken if we are to create the third alternative; and with it to discover for the peace of our One World the synthesis of Soviet Communism and American plutocracy. That synthesis or L.C.M. is a successful combination of Socialism with parliamentary international democracy through a political union of Western Social-Democrats on a basis of 100 per cent. negotiation through and reliance upon Uno. I don't believe that there is any other way.

HENRY USBORNE, M.P.

House of Commons,
London, S.W.1.

Boys will be boys
and accidents
will happen

Keep
MILTON handy
for instant cleansing
and fast healing

LARGEST IN THE WORLD

HALIFAX BUILDING SOCIETY

ASSETS 135 MILLION POUNDS

Extracts from the Society's Statement of Accounts for the year ended January 31st, 1946

TOTAL ASSETS	£135,485,912
SHARE & DEPOSIT FUNDS	£127,733,813
MORTGAGE ASSETS	£82,044,386
MORTGAGE ADVANCES during year	£17,306,406
LIQUID FUNDS Trustee Securities together with Cash at Banks and in hand	£52,907,544
RESERVE FUNDS and undivided profit	£6,835,321

General Manager—F. E. WARBRECK HOWELL, LL.D.
Head Office—HALIFAX, Yorks. London Office—HALIFAX HOUSE, STRAND, W.C.2
BRANCHES AND AGENCIES THROUGHOUT THE KINGDOM
Consult the Telephone directory for the address of your local Branch or Agency

Though thoughts are elusive
you'll catch them in flight
with a smooth-flowing Swan
in your hand when you write

YALTA

SIR,—In your issue of March 23rd you published a letter from Mr. Boothby. I do not wish to criticise the substance of this letter, but it contains one passage which should not go unchallenged. Mr. Boothby writes:

> I was in the United States at the time of Yalta; but I can recall no voice of protest on either side of the Atlantic save that of Mr. Aneurin Bevan.

I was in England at the time and cannot, therefore, answer for the reaction in the United States. Here, in this country, public opinion was aroused by the gross iniquities of the "Agreement" made, and began to be deeply concerned at the real dangers of the situation. Many of the newspapers, particularly some of the provincial ones, of which I should in especial mention the *Western Morning News*, either denounced the Agreement, or expressed the most serious misgivings.

In the House of Commons, on February 28th, 1945, I moved an amendment to the Government's motion approving "the declaration of joint policy agreed to by the three great Powers at the Crimea Conference" in the following terms:

> but, remembering that Great Britain took up arms in a war of which the immediate cause was the defence of Poland against German aggression and in which the overriding motive was the prevention of the domination by a strong nation of its weaker neighbours, regrets the decision to transfer to another Power the territory of an ally contrary to treaty and to Article 2 of the Atlantic Charter and furthermore regrets the failure to ensure to those nations which have been liberated from German oppression the full right to choose their own government free from the influence of any other Power.

The Government chose to make this a vote of confidence and issued a three-line whip. Many speakers, who would not vote against the Government in a motion of confidence, expressed their deep anxiety and, indeed, dismay; and other members, who spoke in support of my motion, made strong speeches in denunciation of what we then believed to be, and what has subsequently proved in fact to have been, a policy which was not only ethically wrong in itself, but fraught with the gravest menace for the future.

I cannot select for favourable mention, as did Mr. Boothby, the name of Mr. Aneurin Bevan. He did not speak in the debate, though it may have been because he failed to catch Mr. Speaker's eye, but he voted with the Government in the division on my motion which took place at the close of the second day's debate.

In this division 25 members voted for the motion and against the Government. Of these 25, in addition to Mr. Keeling and me, who were tellers, 20 were Conservatives, one a member of the Labour Party, two members of the I.L.P. and two Independents.

Furthermore, one Minister of the Government, Mr. Henry Strauss, resigned his office.

52, Westminster Mansions, MAURICE PETHERICK
S.W.1

MR. BEVIN AND FRANCO

SIR,—Mr. Bevin has made it clear that he detests the Franco regime, but doubts whether its overthrow is likely to be brought nearer by the breaking off of diplomatic relations, the imposition of economic sanctions, and discussion in the Security Council. It is for his critics, if they are more concerned with the welfare of the Spanish people than with their own dramatic and self-righteous gestures, to show how the transfer of power is to be achieved. They must refute the contention that foreign pressure of this kind will only make Franco's position stronger (*cf.* the Argentine), that the army must be detached from Franco unless another more bloody and more hated Civil War is to be forced on Spain, and that the Giral Government exercises a minimum of attraction at the present time.

Your correspondents confine themselves to puerile sneers. Mr. Douglas Goldring asserts that Mr. Bevin is "endeavouring to save Franco." Mr. Leonard Peck says that the Foreign Secretary "is now too timorous to do anything about Franco." Can they not see that by portraying Mr. Bevin as a weak-kneed liar they are merely exposing to public contempt the poverty of their own powers of judgment?

406, Duncan House, C. G. W. WHIBLEY
Dolphin Square, S.W.1.

THE B.B.C. CHARTER

SIR,—I would like to express my appreciation of your article of March 2nd on the issues involved in the expiry of the B.B.C.'s Charter. I must confess to some disappointment that there has been no reaction in your correspondence columns to the rather new ideas expressed therein.

I say "new" ideas deliberately, because, as far as I am aware, THE NEW STATESMAN AND NATION has been the first journal of national importance and influence to recognise the great possibilities inherent in up-to-date radio technique from the social point of view. Actually, frequency modulation broadcasting is so well developed already in the U.S. that progressive organisations there are well aware of what it can mean, even in their very different conditions.

The complacency of recent answers to Parliamentary questions on the subject certainly suggests the Government is not very knowledgeable or quite lacking in imagination in its approach to the future of broadcasting. Nor can it be fully aware of the depth of public dissatisfaction with present-day broadcasting. If the Government is not well informed, is that due also to the B.B.C. itself?

Your article, therefore, though late, is very welcome. A good deal of public enlightenment will apparently be necessary before there can be pressure on a scale large enough to be effective in realising such aims. Most people still tend to think in terms of public versus private or "sponsored" radio. It is particularly important that progressive people do some hard and quick thinking on the nature of the factors which have led to the present stagnation in British broadcasting, and how modern techniques can provide the solution to the problems. There should be a plan, reasonably complete technically and organisationally, to offer as an alternative to the present set-up, ready before the end of the year, as something concrete around which to rally public opinion.

10 Oakleigh Avenue, C. H. B. LOCKE
Tolworth, Surbiton, Surrey.

THE LOGIC OF NUREMBERG

SIR,—If I may contribute an observation on the War Criminal Trials, I would like to point out what I hope will be their most pronounced effect on civilisation: namely, the need they are creating for a Fifth Freedom.

War criminals who have been ordered by their superiors to commit atrocities have quite rightly not escaped punishment by putting the blame on those in authority over them. This fact places Service men in every country in a very peculiar position. It means that they might in future be faced with the predicament of having to make their choice between owing their allegiance to three things:—

1. To their country or government.
2. To humanity or their sense of decency, if their government or superiors order them to commit atrocities.
3. To the United Nations Organisation if their country happens to be in conflict with it.

Clearly there is only one answer to this, and that is to leave it to the individuals concerned to make their choice to fit the circumstances, since it is they who will have to face the consequences. But to do this, they must be given the moral backing of International Law in cases where their choice happens to conflict with the interests of their immediate superiors. It should be incorporated in the Charter of the United

RHEUMATISM

Rheumatism—however mild your symptoms—exacts a merciless toll in pain and expense if not checked in time. Poisons and impurities in your system are often the cause of rheumatic disorders. To get rid of these poisons, doctors recommend the drinking of mineral spa waters. But a visit to a spa involves time and expense that many people simply cannot afford these days.

'Alkia' Saltrates may be described as a spa treatment *in your own home*. It contains the medicinal qualities of seven world-famous springs and has the same beneficial effect on the system at a fraction of the cost and without the inconvenience of travelling to an actual spa. A teaspoonful of 'Alkia' Saltrates in warm water before breakfast each morning soon relieves pain. Taken regularly, this pleasant, effervescent drink *dissolves impurities* in the blood-stream and eliminates them from the system, thus helping to prevent recurring attacks of rheumatism.

A bottle of 'Alkia' Saltrates costs 3/9 (inc. purchase tax). Get one from your chemist to-day and begin your spa treatment to-morrow morning.

PLANT & PERFORMANCE

It may well be premature to attempt any precise assessment of the ratio existing between price and performance in the many and various types of CONTRACTORS' PLANT AND EQUIPMENT now in service throughout the country. That day of reckoning will come when we can all calculate what make and type has served best during the past years of all-out effort for war.

So far as WINGET products are involved we have no anxiety about these comparative results.

Many letters from Ministries, Authorities and Contractors here and overseas convince us that WINGET Plant and Equipment has withstood the exceptional strains of war conditions.

Meanwhile we are compiling data regarding our clients' immediate requirements for the peace era—write to us and let us get together on the all important details.

WINGET Ltd of ROCHESTER
KENT, ENGLAND
Tel. Strood 7276

General Engineers and Construction Equipment Manufacturers. Specialists in all types of Up-to-date Concrete Machinery and Placing Machinery

So DISTRESSING!

NERVE PAINS

But there's a WONDERFUL RELIEF!

The attacks are so sudden sometimes and so enfeebling; can't think, can't do anything, just helpless. At times the condition is most distressing but it need only be for a short while. Beecham's Powders are the wonderful relief for Nerve Pains. Quickly absorbed they are speedy in action. Beecham's Powders are equally good for Headaches, Rheumatic Twinges, Lumbago, Colds and Chills.

Prices in Gt. Britain (Incl. Purchase Tax)
Cartons of 8 Powders 1/4.
Single Powders 2½d. each.

BEECHAM'S POWDERS 2½
ACT LIKE MAGIC

Nations Organisation that the "Right and Freedom to refuse Authority on a matter of conscience should be granted to all Service men and civilians in every nation."

R. D. LEAKEY

BUTLINEERING

SIR,—Is Cyril Joad trying to pull our legs with his Butlin article? We all know his pet paradox about the education of the countrygoer: that people are a nuisance in the country unless they really love it, but they cannot learn to love it unless they go there (and commit their various nuisances). And his conclusion: put up with troublesome newcomers because in time they will be tamed.

The point at issue now is, will Butlin help to educate the thousands he will introduce to hitherto remote and lovely places? Surely every indication is to the contrary. He does not propose so much to take people away from the vulgarities of Blackpool to the serenities of Snowdonia, as to import the worst evils of the one—the side-shows, the dance bands, the hutments, and, let us be frankly anti-social and admit it, the appalling human screams and shouts—to the other. Butlin's customers may, perhaps, find time for mountaineering, but they will think the impressario has let them down if he does not erect tents for ices and shrimp teas at frequent intervals.

If some holiday caterers were to provide good, cheap accommodation in the Welsh mountains without the Southend Pier attractions—the Co-op. has done so already on a modest scale—then there might be some prospect of winning new friends for natural beauty. Butlineers, however, are about as likely to learn to love the countryside as visitors to the Oxford Street premises where Epstein sculpture is exhibited alongside strip-tease peep-shows, Siamese twins and a blaring gramophone, are likely to learn to love modern art. But perhaps Joad favours the Oxford Street enterprise, too; logically, I suppose, he must.

Highgate. MAURICE CRANSTON

FAMILY ALLOWANCES

SIR,—The Family Allowances due to start next August would be amusing if they were not so misleading. The mother of two children under 14 will receive 5*s.* weekly on which the average father will pay a tax of 1*s.* 6*d.*, leaving 3*s.* 6*d.* which will not be sufficient to buy his insurance stamp. The mother of three children will receive 10*s.* weekly on which the average father will be taxed 3*s.* Shortly the father will also pay 4*s.* 11*d.* in insurance, leaving his wife with a weekly allowance of 2*s.* 1*d.*

In addition, rents are rising because rates are rising. (I have seen some statutory notices.) Moreover, the £60 million a year the allowances are estimated to cost will mean £60 million in taxes which go into prices—even into controlled prices. And £60 million cannot go into producers' or importers' prices without expanding as they reach retail prices. So that after all the form-filling, witnessing and walking, and with all the expense of paper, printing, accounting and inspecting, Family Allowances' net real addition to the income of the average working-class family will be—less than nothing!

Llanelly. DAN GRIFFITHS

POLICE METHODS

SIR,—Critic's comments on James A. Maxwell's article "Police Duty" remind me of a conversation in which I took part in a small Military Police Sergeants' Mess in Italy about a year ago. The Mess President was describing in detail the torturing of an Arab by French Colonial Gendarmerie and British Military Policemen during the African campaign, and his account was received with the amusement and approval of all, I think, except myself.

This incident is symbolic of the contemptuous attitude towards the Arabs which, adopted from the French colonials, spread rapidly through the Allied armies in North Africa, and the mere fact of a man's being a "Wog" was taken as justification for many acts of gross brutality once an immediate pretext was given.

I should add that my own experience was limited to Algeria, and that in many cases the Arabs offered serious provocation (they were prodigious looters), but to my mind there is no excuse for the extreme and wanton cruelty with which they were often treated.

8 Monmouth Road, Bayswater, W.2. GEOFFREY H. PORTER

CATHOLIC DOCTORS

SIR,—I feel your article on the proposed Health Service tends to oversimplify the issues. There are grounds for reasonable opposition or doubt concerning certain aspects of the service, quite apart from basis of "class assumption" which you cite. For example, the position of Catholic doctors may be rather invidious. What will happen if they are called upon to provide advice or service on matters to which they have moral objections—e.g., contraception or abortion? If they are paid a salary by the State, will they be legally *compelled* to act against their consciences under threat of dismissal, a dismissal which would be virtually a prohibition from practising?

This is a serious aspect which may well bring into opposition many who might otherwise enthusiastically support the scheme on grounds of social justice.

Gray's Cottage, Candlemas Lane, Beaconsfield. H. F. RANCE

B.B.C. REALISM

SIR,—Mr. Sackville West, in Radio Notes, complains of "American Radio production which . . . instigated a great deal of unnecessary music, much of it quite obviously at variance with the situation." But can you beat the B.B.C. in sending a complete orchestra, including a grand piano, with Scott on his Polar expedition?

J. C. T. CLEAVE

FLOWERS FOR SHOREDITCH

SIR,—I am writing to ask whether you would be good enough to publish an appeal for flowers in your magazine so that any of your readers who have them to spare in their gardens might send them to us for use in this Museum. Shoreditch is one of the most dreary districts in London, as well as being badly bombed, and we find that any displays of flowers that we can show are very much appreciated by all those, both adults and children, who visit the Museum.

During the last two years we have received many boxes of flowers from all over the country in response to a request published on our behalf in various magazines. Our need is no less than in previous years, and if you can assist us in this way we shall be more than grateful.

The Geffrye Museum, Kingsland Road, E.2. M. HARRISON, Acting Curator.

A SALE OF BOOKS

SIR,—In the hope of raising a sum of money for the relief of child victims of the war, I am organising a sale of books. Mr. Hodgson, of Chancery Lane, has very kindly promised to conduct the auction and I am now engaged in collecting suitable books for sale. I have principally in mind two categories—first editions of scarce books and volumes autographed by their authors.

The proceeds of the sale will be divided between two societies—the Save the Children Fund (which deals with all children without regard to race or creed), and the Children and Youth Aliyah (which concentrates on Jewish children).

If any of your readers can help by offering gifts for the sale I shall indeed be grateful. Gifts should be addressed to me, c/o The Save the Children Fund, 20 Gordon Square, London, W.C.1.

EBBA LOW

ROSAMOND LEHMANN

THE GIPSY'S BABY

AND OTHER STORIES

A new book from Rosamond Lehmann is a literary event and this volume of three long and two short stories reveals the versatility of her talent better, perhaps, than any single novel could do. *7s. 6d.*

COLLINS

NEW **Faber** BOOKS

The Living Hedge: an autobiography of youth by **LESLIE PAUL,** author of *The Annihilation of Man.* *Illustrated* 8/6

Forth, Beast!: a mordantly individual novel by **LOUIS MARLOW,** author *Swan's Milk,* etc. 8/6

The Voyage: a new collection of poems by **EDWIN MUIR.** 6/-

The Shadow Factory: a new verse-play by **ANNE RIDLER.** 6/-

Bird Photography: problems of technique and picture composition by **G. K. YEATES.** *Illus.* 12/6

A brilliant first-hand account which contains much new material

GREEK TRILOGY

RESISTANCE LIBERATION REVOLUTION

by LT.-COL. W. BYFORD-JONES

Going into Greece with the British liberating forces the author was able to talk with quislings, ex-Premiers, Greek guerillas, British saboteurs and many others, so he is able to give an authoritative account which is both thrilling and of great historical interest.

With 32 illustrations 18/-

HUTCHINSON

& Co. (Publishers) Ltd.

Largest of Book Publishers

THE

POLITICAL QUARTERLY

April-June

CONTENTS

Patterns of Power in the Arab Middle East "HENRICUS"

The Big Two and Ourselves ALARIC JACOB

Political Education in the Tropical Far East J. S. FURNIVALL

The Population Problem SIR WILLIAM BEVERIDGE

Shareholders' Charter: The Cohen Committee's Report A. EMIL DAVIES

The Integral University C. H. WADDINGTON

Personal Incentive and Public Service GEOFFREY VICKERS

Demobilization Defects: Employment or Charity? F. GEORGE

Reviews of selected new books

5*s.* at all stalls and shops or POSTAL SUBSCRIPTION: £1 yearly

TURNSTILE PRESS

10 Great Turnstile, London, W.C.1

BOOKS IN GENERAL

In 1927 Darwin's old house at Downe, in Kent, was presented to the British Association and became a shrine.

When one visits it, the strongest impression has little to do with the two books which turned the whole conception of human history upside down; there are no skeletons, no brilliant diagrams of comparative anatomy, no pickled fœtuses, no copy even of the famous portrait of a "Chimpanzee disappointed and sulky. Drawn from life by Mr. Wood." The imaginative pilgrim is brought back from remote eras of geological time plumb into the weight and consequence of prosperous Victorian family life. Here is the vast polished dining table; here a top hat and account books; here, in the drawing room, the sofa on which father lay in the evening when novels were read aloud, but only novels with a happy ending; and from the windows the garden, with the ilex on the mound and the tree-fringed meadow beyond, seems less the site of vital observations on the action of earthworms than the playground of first the children and then the grandchildren, while the head of the family took his daily exercise round the Sand Walk. Science seems to have been a mere incident in this household. It is true there is the study with a microscope and a huge low, wheeled stool drawn up before it; a little lavatory in the corner boarded off and hung with grey wall-paper; bottles, instruments, files for papers, a large part of the original furniture and library; but the children used to burst in even here to borrow the scissors or the ruler.

The portraits, too, are of a patriarch. Male Victorian faces should be judged from likenesses taken before the Crimean War, when beards came in. Here the huge bearded figure, in oils and photographs and caricatures galore, completely holds the walls and gives a quite lop-sided version of the life. Yet there is one drawing of Darwin, clean-shaven in his youth. No one knows for certain who did it, and it is a little lifeless, so that the impression of a set and almost stolid face may be quite false; the jaw is square and determined; the mouth has some simplicity and sweetness; the nose is lumpish and odd, but not yet over-fleshy; everything is dominated by a prodigious brow coming to a climax, whether by means of hair or skull or mere error it is impossible to say, in an extraordinary pointed gable. This was done soon after his return from the voyage of the *Beagle*, and it gives a ludicrous appositeness to the remark of his father when he first saw him again: "Why, the shape of his head is quite altered!"

No words or portrait could better symbolize what that five years' voyage had meant. Darwin's experience of any branch of science before 1831 had been desultory, unsystematic and amateurish; even his general intellectual training had been commonplace. Yet one propensity was from earliest boyhood very strong in him, and he believed it to be innate—"the passion for collecting, which leads a man to be a systematic naturalist, a virtuoso, or a miser." He also had great keenness and accuracy of eye and capacity for observation, and an unusual power of inspiring confidence. His first regular experience of training in method came in his friendship with J. S. Henslow, Professor of Botany at Cambridge, and this friendship determined his fate. Henslow persuaded him to spend the summer of '31 in serious geological work.

The survey-ship H.M.S. *Beagle* was due just then for a long tour of work on the coasts of S. America, and her captain, FitzRoy, applied for permission to take a naturalist with him who should pay all his own expenses. On these terms likely starters were few. Henslow himself refused the job and finally suggested Darwin, not as "a *finished* naturalist, but as amply qualified for collecting, observing and noting anything worthy to be noted in Natural History." It was a wide enough field. There was a flutter in the family; his father objected that it was a wild, useless, dangerous, unsettling scheme, "disreputable to his character as a clergyman hereafter." With admirable tact and wisdom his uncle, Josiah Wedgwood II, won the doctor over, and Charles was allowed to go. The ship's officers affectionately nicknamed him "Philosopher."

Behind the published versions of the *Journal of Researches* lay a whole history of minute and concentrated work, and also a history of even, thorough and revolutionary intellectual development. On expeditions he carried pocket notebooks in which he entered everything indiscriminately on the spot. From these he wrote up, as leisure on board or on shore allowed, the first draft of a general Diary and also separate, more technical, records of his scientific work and specimens. After the voyage the first proposal was that his material should be interwoven for publication with that of Captain FitzRoy. It seems that Darwin's sisters played a big part in squashing this dreary plan, and his work first appeared as a separate, third, official volume. This was prepared from all the sources; much material was not used at all; all was adapted and rewritten. It is now possible, thanks to one of his granddaughters, Lady Barlow, to see all the stages of this work paraded in open order. In 1933 she published a splendidly edited transcript of the MS Diary, which had for frontispiece a reproduction of the drawing with the gabled head. She has now* printed a number of chosen extracts from the pocket-books, together with a series of thirtyseven long letters written during the voyage to his family.

Darwin admitted he hated letter-writing; yet these are vigorous, cheerful, affectionate, even though he was sometimes miserably seasick, and towards the end more miserably homesick. They are, for all the hardships, illness and accidents they describe—the trials of the Captain's temperament alternating with praise of his efficiency and goodness—almost incredibly equable; there are few fluctuations of mood, or moments of despondency, no self-mistrust or self-analysis: the eye is always turned outward with that "enlarged curiosity" noted by his uncle. Towards Nature in her finer moods and products there is a kind of Wordsworthian reverence; an unaffected horror at the first sight of naked savages. Most striking of all is the modesty. There never can have been a man of great genius who in his youth dwelt less upon the prospect of success and fame; he still expects to be a quiet country clergyman; he is really surprised and pleased to be told that the specimens he has sent home have proved useful and interesting.

The significant intellectual development is better traced in the notebooks. There he can be seen month by month progressively bringing everything into comparison with something else; wringing out more and more meaning from the comparison of items not superficially connected; asking innumerable questions to determine beforehand what to look for (he wryly recorded in later life how in '31 he and Prof. Sedgwick had geologized in the valleys of N. Wales quite blind to the evidence of glacial action staring them in the face); framing and testing at all stages provisional hypotheses to account for what he finds. In the unwearying application of such methods the spark of genius suddenly flashes. When he first grasped the central idea of the *Origin of Species* Huxley thought: "How extremely stupid not to have thought of that!"

Huxley also said that these particular MSS were worthless because of Darwin's lack of training in biology. Many entries certainly have a vivid unscientific appeal:

> Twiners entwining twiners—tresses like hair—beautiful lepidoptera—Silence—hosannah—Frog habits like toad—slow jumps—iris copper-coloured, colour became faint.
>
> Miss Martineau—: Charity everywhere. I doubted it at first. Byron and the Fuegian woman. Have any other associated animals charity? Cows not. Wild cattle? Porpoise?

What is so fascinating is to see a mind of great freshness, not yet canalised by special training, unburdened by too much scholarship and precedent, still free to own a sense of wonder and beauty, learning almost the elements of a science at the same time as it collected new facts and asked the boldest questions. When Darwin started, his main interest was in geology, and it was the discovery of certain animal fossils which first seriously turned his attention to the problem of species. In her earlier book Lady Barlow traced his growing interest in it, and she now shows how the zig-zag course of the *Beagle*, from islands to mainland and back again, kept the variations and distribution of species dramatically under his eye, and the problems in the front of his mind. He opened his first notebook specifically on the "Transmutation of Species" in July 1837.

There is perhaps no essential mystery about Darwin's later life, but there are several problems. Why, for instance, did he delay so long before publishing *The Origin of Species?* Lady Barlow is clearly right in ascribing the delay largely to his extreme intellectual caution; for years he collected "facts from seedsmen, facts from animal fanciers, facts from farmers, besides his own observations and those derived from other scientists" before his case seemed clear enough to make public; but it is perhaps going rather far to suggest that his allegiance to FitzRoy, who became as time went on a more and more dogged champion of the "fundamentalist" view of creation, was another reason for delay. The possibility of an almost neurotic element in his own caution would seem to explain more than any reference to the susceptibilities of others. For he was, on the whole, quite indifferent to the kind of religious controversy the book was bound to cause. Unlike Huxley, he was not interested in scientific propaganda or the "mission" of science. He always professed to have no ability for speculation and abstract thought; he said he reached only one of his major conclusions by "deduction."

His forty years' illness, too, has never been quite explained. Yet, besides rigidly dictating the routine of daily life, keeping him from public engagements and intensifying his love of home, this semi-invalidism must also have had deep effects on the habits of his mind. In his youth he was very fond of poetry; at school he loved Shakespeare, Thomson, Byron and Scott; he carried Milton with him wherever he went from the *Beagle*; on getting home he had a period of passionate delight in Wordsworth and Coleridge. But in later life he wholly lost "all pleasure from poetry of any kind, including Shakespeare"; it even gave him positive pain. His difficulty in writing, too, increased rather than diminished as time went on; the verbal facility and inventiveness which appears here and there in the *Beagle* pocket-books never matured.

A combination of conditions—the five years of abnormally intense work and receptive observation in his youth, the illness, the modesty amounting almost to diffidence, the strong family affections—seems to have intensified his earliest "passion for collecting" till he did in fact become a sort of virtuoso or miser, lovingly lingering, to the atrophy of all other intellectual interests, over the ever-growing accumulation of detail, all but reluctant to part with it to the world. If this was, in one sense, his weakness, his triumph was that he did not succumb to it. The asking of questions, the framing of hypotheses went on; his insight never failed. For all its privacy and homeliness and patriarchal atmosphere Down House—where now the *Beagle* pocket-books and Diary are on view in a glass case—was the scene of portentous conclusions. The wise pilgrim will be glad that all the technical MSS have gone to Cambridge; for Down is also the shrine, as this book and much else can witness, of a very remarkable family.

HUMPHRY HOUSE

* *Charles Darwin and the Voyage of the Beagle.* Edited with an Introduction by Nora Barlow. *Pilot Press.* 15s.

NEW NOVELS

Yes, Farewell. By MICHAEL BURN. *Cape.* 10s. 6d.

A Wind is Rising. By WILLIAM RUSSELL. *Nicholson and Watson.* 10s. 6d.

George Brown's Schooldays. By BRUCE MARSHALL. *Constable.* 8s. 6d.

The cinema has evolved a distinction which should be instantly applied to several other arts, and particularly to fiction. The documentary film is one thing and the feature film another, however wide the intermediate territory may be. It is recognised both by directors and by audiences that the two forms have different purposes. The nobler form, it would be generally admitted, is the feature film, for it is capable of absorbing and transforming documentary material. By another criterion, however, the pure documentary appears worthier of respect, since the average level which it attains is a great deal higher than the average level of the feature film.

A pure documentary novel would be a contradiction in terms, for pure documentary is reporting or sociology, not fiction. But there is a large and by no means disreputable subdivision of fiction which has the purveyance of documentary information for its primary aim. It is perfectly justifiable to use this vehicle for presenting and examining sociological problems. The only test which can be legitimately applied is that of effective presentation, and who can doubt that the pill is often sweetened by an invented narrative? When this is really well done, as in such books as *The Winds of Fear* and *A Bell for Adano*, the story is an unpretentious instrument subservient but skilfully wedded to the all-important environment. From these books we learned much about the problem of the American negro and of Amgot in Italy, respectively, and a more severe vehicle would probably have been less effective. Now the "feature" novelist cuts a laughable figure if he shrilly protests against an invasion of his territory. Art forms can only be closed territories in the sense that good artists are rare. It is useless and small-minded to put up notices saying "Keep off the Grass" or "Trespassers will be Prosecuted." They won't, nor is Shakespeare degraded by the fact that Mr. Robert Service also wrote in verse.

Yet it would be an undoubted benefit to readers, writers, and above all to critics, if some titular distinction could be made. A surveyor's chart may be well or ill-executed, but it is not criticised by Mr. Clive Bell for the significance of its form. Let the author boldly describe his work as a Fictional Documentary, and the time of critics will no longer be wasted in complaining that the book is not something which it was never meant to be. Alas! few would resign themselves to the humbler title, for even the most sociological of writers suspects that he may have stumbled into art by a back door. Rarely, rarely does that happen. True, a recent French novel was written with a solely pornographic object in view and turned out to be a considerable work of art. True, there are skyscrapers as beautiful as cathedrals, though beauty was no intention of their architect. But in general art is an exceedingly self-conscious activity, and its achievement is most unlikely to be haphazard and incidental.

Of the books under review, *A Wind is Rising* is consciously documentary. *Yes, Farewell* is a feature novel with genuine though bewildered artistic aims, and *George Brown's Schooldays* is an irritating confusion of satire, documentary and propaganda. Neither the first nor the second of these books can be placed very high in its own category, but at least their intentions do clearly emerge. In a period of literary confusion this is considerable praise. The intentions of Mr. Marshall are lamentably obscure to me, and I dare to suspect that they were not much clearer to him. Yet little can be done in art without the strictest forethought and the highest attainable clarity. Did Mr. Marshall simply wish to flog the public schools yet again? Did he wish to give a relatively objective picture of school life? Did he wish to make a psychological study of schoolboys? Did he mean to be funny or tragic or both? Some of these aims are not incompatible, and few good books have had only one intention. But the intentions must be distinguished and understood.

The blurb of *George Brown's Schooldays* opens apologetically, but it apologises for the wrong thing. "Yet another Public School story? Certainly; and why not? Especially as it is unlike any other . . ." It is hard to understand why anybody should feel the *prima facie* contempt for school stories which this assumes. The spatially limited but emotionally extravagant world of the boarding school is ideal and inexhaustible territory for the novelist. But Mr. Marshall has written a bad school story, crudely over-emphatic in its "message" and frankly incredible in its documentary detail. Are we expected to believe that public schools in 1912 were indistinguishable from concentration camps? It is not only outside information which leads us to doubt it, but the inner weaknesses and contradictions of the book. Boys of 18 do not use the same language as boys of 13. Here they do. This is one small point among many, and together they induce an unassailable disbelief. This is bad documentary, and no better on any other level.

Mr. Russell has written "yet another" book about the negro problem in the Southern States, and in his case, too, it is hard to believe that he has contributed anything new. In *The Winds of Fear*, Hodding Carter stated precisely the same problem and arrived at the same conclusions. He did it in approximately a third of Mr. Russell's words and with greater clarity. Documentary need not be flat or ill-written: indeed, it *must* not be if the information is to be effectively purveyed. But this is the kind of drab, exhausted writing with which Mr. Russell presents his information:—

> Lee set the lantern down on the kitchen table and joined his mother and sister, who were sitting in the hot bed-living-room. There were only two beds, one for his father, mother and sister Edith and the other for himself and his brother Bob. The floor was made of rough pine planks, and was uneven, sloping down from the front door to the kitchen. The thin walls and the ceiling were covered with many layers of Sunday newspapers . . .

When he wearies of his own catalogues Mr. Russell ventures much too rashly. "The sun . . . expanded the air into lassitudinous proportions." This is pure babu, and unstimulating babu as well. But at least this writer is sincere, humane and quite clear about his intentions. It is a dull book but a respectable one.

From the narrowest technical point of view, it is possible that Mr. Burn has written the worst book of the three under review. From any other point of view he has written the best. *Yes, Farewell* is naive, clumsy, repetitive and confused. It is also sincere, thoughtful, moving and observant. Here the documentary material is strictly subservient, although perhaps the most successful element. There is no contradiction in this. Mr. Burn's description of life in an Oflag is very vivid and impressive, but it was not to give this information that the book was written. Rather it was to describe the spiritual and intellectual quest of the hero who, beginning as the typical young, horizonless demivierge of the English middle classes, ends as a tolerably convinced Communist. The narration of his conversion is naive and even, for long moments, intolerably boring. From the point of view of immediate pleasure it is the incidental details of the book—and particularly the behaviour and conversation of the prisoners—which give satisfaction. But from the more important point of view of Mr. Burn's future as a writer his conscious intentions and dominant theme are by no means discouraging. Naive and over-simplified though much of the "message" must seem, the spiritual quest is a real and a serious one. At his most perceptive moments Mr. Burn understands that Communism is merely an *accidental* manifestation of the Graal.

> Communism was only another of those voices which from time to time recall those who have gone crooked and flat to the natural and profound feelings, freedom, brotherhood, adventure, faith in life. There might be many other voices, whose echoes were not heard so insistently in the castle, but Communism was the voice he heard, and could scarcely fail to hear in that position, at that moment.

Outside the castle Mr. Burn will probably hear richer and more compelling voices than this. Then he will write a better book than this good one.

PHILIP TOYNBEE

THE WAY OUT IN INDIA

India: A Restatement. By SIR REGINALD COUPLAND. *Oxford University Press.* 12s. 6d.

Never since the break-up of the first British Empire in the eighteenth century, has Britain been faced by so acute and complex a problem as India. In this oriental country, she has a canker. All curative measures serve only to aggravate the malady. And the Indian plainly says that there is little hope of recovery so long as Britain looks after the treatment.

In this book, Sir Reginald, the author of the *Report on the Constitutional Problems in India*, has summarised his *Report*, brought the account of the Indian political developments up to date (September 1945), and added chapters on the historical background of India, particularly the origin and the past of the British connection, the growth of the Nationalist movement and the development of responsible government in India. As a chronological record, this well-documented book, written by a master hand in a breezy style, is the perfect guide-book for anyone out to explore the labyrinth of the Indian political situation.

The book is a restatement in more than one sense; it reiterates the oft-repeated beneficences of the British Raj. And although it is idle to dwell on the might-have-beens of history it is tempting to guess whether India would not have become a great Power, without the British connection, if she had independently taken the road to industrialisation as Japan did. History is a very clever mistress, who can provide us with statistics for and against any case; and to exaggerate one side of the case at the cost of the other will be anything but faithfulness to her. Sir Reginald cannot be accused of always overlooking one side of the picture. But he uses two brushes, to tone up one side and to tone down the other. He quotes Sir Josiah Child as saying in 1687 that the East India Company ought to "lay the foundations of a large, well-grounded, sure dominion in India for all time to come" and Charles Napier as writing in 1843, "It grieves me to say that my heart and the judgment God has given me unite in condemning the measures we are carrying out as most tyrannical—positive robbery. . . . We have no right to seize Sind." But he emphasises that all this was done for the good of India. He quotes Mr. Churchill as claiming that "our reign in India, or anywhere else, has never stood on the basis of physical force," but he forgets that it was the same Mr. Churchill who in August 1942 told Britain that the number of white troops in India stood at a figure unprecedented in the history of the Indo-British connection.

At the beginning of this connection, Sir Reginald says: "Nine-tenths of (India's) people were engaged in wringing a lone existence from the soil. . . . Production was mainly for local consumption. Recurrent shortages in the local rainfall meant starvation on a ghastly scale." But he lets the British Raj get away with the 3½ million deaths in the Bengal famine of 1943 by saying that the famine "was a grim reminder of the fate which earlier generations had regularly undergone." He deals with the Muslim League charges, against the Congress Ministries, of atrocities, but does not mention the rejection by Mr. Jinnah of the Congress offer to get these charges investigated by Sir Maurice Gwyer,

Chief of the Federal Court of India. But it will be dishonesty to condemn this valuable book on such grounds.

Sir Reginald admits that British rule has failed in the two objectives it set out to achieve—internal unity and security from foreign invasion, demonstrated by the widening of the Hindu-Muslim rift and the Japanese invasion of the north-eastern border of India. And he points out, with great clarity, Britain's obligations, or obstacles in the way of her abdication of her Indian Empire: defence, treaties with the Indian princes (whom Nationalist India regards as Britain's fifth column in that country), the protection of religious and racial minorities (90 million Muslims, 50 million Scheduled Castes and 12 million inhabitants of excluded areas), the future of the Indian Army, Navy and Air Force and the Secretary of State's Services. All these are to be dealt with in the Indo-British treaty which will be negotiated if the constitutional convention succeeds. In this convention the representatives of States and the new provincial assemblies, to be convoked soon, will take part. During these elections the Congress and the League have emerged as the two strongest political parties and the success of the convention will depend upon their attitudes. Giving the pros and cons of the schemes for the vivisection of India into sovereign States, Sir Reginald airs the idea of the creation, in this era of air transport, of a sovereign Union of Indian States.

Be that as it may, the vicious circle of Britain's insistence on an agreement between the Indian parties to precede the transfer of power into Indian hands and the insistence of Congress of the impossibility of such an agreement, so long as Britain stays in India, remains unbroken. The one inescapable fact of the Indian situation so far has been the Indian's distrust of Britain's professions to quit India. The position of the Three-Cabinet-Minister Mission, which is in India now to deal with matters relating to the transference of power into Indian hands, is a very unenviable one indeed. But the atmosphere in which they have started tackling the job is not very discouraging. The haggling by the various Indian parties for more power, if they are convinced that Britain means business, is inevitable. Sir Stafford Cripps' statement that the Mission looks forward and not backwards—to the Cripps Offer—Mr. Attlee's statement in the House of Commons, and the keenness of the Ministers to stay on till the task is completed are signs full of hope.

Asia to-day is in revolt and the ferment in South-East Asia and the Middle East is meaningful to the Indian mind. Its mood is extremely violent. Hindus and Muslims joined hands to defend the personnel of Bose's army and together they faced the bullets in Bombay, Calcutta and elsewhere in India. The ugly shadow of famine now looms large on the whole of India, and the discontent of the Indian soldier, now being demobbed, will further aggravate the situation.

Of late the Congress has been talking about another struggle, and the All-India Muslim League of civil war. It will be a sad day if the 345-year-old Indo-British bond is broken violently merely on account of lack of imagination. All well-intentioned people, Indian and British included, having at heart the emancipation of humanity and the peace of the world, fondly hope, with Sir Reginald, that India will treat as sacred the "much British dust" lying in the "close-packed graveyards of India," of which he speaks.

We hope, and sincerely wish, that the parleys going on between the Cabinet Mission and the Indian leaders will succeed. But if—and God forbid—they fail, what then? Herein Sir Reginald has put his finger on the sore spot. He asks: "And would it not help to bring about agreement if the British Government were to impose a time-limit? If it pledged itself to abdicate, to surrender all its remaining powers at a certain date—at the end of two years, perhaps, or three—would it not compel the Indian parties to come to terms with one another before the time was up?" It would. It certainly would. And perhaps it will be the only way out. MADAN GOPAL

HOMER PLAIN

Homer: the Odyssey. Translated by E. V. RIEU. *The Penguin Classics.* 1s.

An English translator of Homer is faced by difficulties analogous to those one imagines to be experienced by a German translator of Shakespeare. These difficulties resolve themselves into alternatives: prose or verse, and if the first then whether to use modern or some kind of stylised narrative. Success, qualified in various ways, attends Chapman's and Pope's verse translations; but the mere fact that, in every century, one or more writers feel the urge to attempt the task once again, perhaps shows that final success is impossible. Indeed it might be thought that each age should have its translation, expressed in the idiom which is most appropriate to its spirit.

Matthew Arnold, considering the qualities necessary in a translator of Homer, distinguishes the salient features of that poet's style as rapidity, plainness and directness of thought and expression, and "eminent nobility." In modern times Samuel Butler, in his prose translation of the Odyssey, fulfilled most of Arnold's requirements; but his version is marred by the quirks of an eccentric theory and displays too plainly the author's reaction from Butcher and Lang. The latter translation was until recently considered the most faithful, since it was made at a time when the emphasis was all on the *nobility* of the original; but it is not distinguished by either rapidity or plainness, and the mannered poetic style which the authors considered suitable to the subject effectively bleaches Homer's novel of its raciness, its humour and its brilliant characterisation.

Mr. Rieu has, it is evident, borne these three features well in mind. His prose is plain and rapid, and at times he achieves a memorably felicitous phrase. Comparing his version with that of T. E. Lawrence, which it most closely resembles in aim, I should say that stylistically Mr. Rieu stands on this side of Lawrence, at the farthest remove from Butcher and Lang. An example will clarify this point, and give readers the measure of Mr. Rieu's excellence in his own kind. Menelaus is reporting what the Old Man of the Sea had said to him:

> You will not meet your fate and die in Argos where the horses graze. Instead, the immortals will send you to the Elysian plain at the world's end, to join red-haired Rhadamanthus in the land where living is made easiest for mankind, where no snow falls, no strong winds blow and there is never any rain, but day after day the West Wind's tuneful breeze comes in from Ocean to refresh its folk. That is how the gods will deal with Helen's husband and recognise in you the son-in-law of Zeus.

Now for Lawrence:

> You are not to die in Argos of the fair horse-pastures, not there to encounter death: rather will the Deathless Ones carry you to the Elysian plain, the place beyond the world, where is fair-haired Rhadamanthus and where the lines of life run smoothest for mortal men. In that land there is no snowfall, nor much winter, nor any storm of rain; but from the river of earth the west wind ever sings soft and thrillingly to reanimate the souls of men. There you will have Helen for yourself and will be deemed of the household of Zeus.

Finally Butcher and Lang

> But thou, Menelaus, son of Zeus, art not ordained to die and meet thy fate in Argos, the pasture-land of horses, but the deathless gods will convey thee

English Local Government System

Town and County Hall Series

J. H. WARREN, M.A., D.P.A.

Designed to be of general interest, this book is a concise yet comprehensive account of the English Local Government System. The author analyses every major problem of machinery, and those problems in State and Municipal relationship which affect administration

7s. 6d. net

George Allen & Unwin Ltd

To be published April 11th

HOUSES

PERMANENCE & PREFABRICATION

BY HUGH ANTHONY

This book sets out in simple form the real problems involved in housing—social, technical and financial. Illustrated with numerous half-tone plates and line drawings.

Crown 4to 6/- net

PLEIADES BOOKS

CHATTO AND WINDUS

Forthcoming Books

General

Aldous Huxley
THE PERENNIAL PHILOSOPHY 12/6

'Bartimeus'
THE TURN OF THE ROAD 7/6

Jasper Rootham
MISS FIRE 12/6

Belles-lettres

V. S. Pritchett
THE LIVING NOVEL 8/6

L. C. Knights
EXPLORATIONS 10/6

Prices are net

JUST PUBLISHED

Some Proposals for CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM

Being the Recommendations of a Group of Conservatives.

Under the Chairmanship of the Rt. Hon. Sir Cuthbert Headlam, Bt., C.

This book is designed to provide at one and the same time an explanation in general terms of the working of the British Constitution in its present phase, an analysis of its merits as compared with other constitutions, and its weaknesses together with proposals for remedying these weaknesses on democratic lines.

5s. 6d. net.

Eyre & Spottiswoode

> to the Elysian plain and the world's end, where is Rhadamanthus of the fair hair, where life is easiest for men. No snow is there, nor yet great storm, nor any rain; but always ocean sendeth forth the breeze of the shrill West to blow cool on men: yea, for thou hast Helen to wife, and thereby they deem thee to be son of Zeus.

It should be obvious, I think, that, although Lawrence's sentences show a greater care for tempo and melody, in actual choice of word and phrase there is little to choose between him and Mr. Rieu. The Butcher and Lang version seems to me disqualified for a modern reader by the pointless archaisms: "sendeth," "yea," "to wife," and so on.

As a matter of personal taste, therefore, I still incline to Lawrence's translation; but those—and there will be many—who require the highest degree of plainness and directness, even at some expense of nobility, should find Mr. Rieu's style extremely satisfying.

In conclusion one must pay tribute to the discernment of Penguin Books in planning a whole series of new translations from the classics of many languages, of which this volume is the first.

LIONEL CRANFIELD

WORLD ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION

America's Role in the World Economy. A. H. HANSEN. *Allen and Unwin.*

Full Employment and Free Trade. M. POLANYI, F.R.S. *Cambridge University Press.*

A Page of British Folly. R. F. HARROD. *Macmillan.*

Professor Hansen's name is well known in this country as a fearless and, lately, rather hard-pressed exponent of the Keynesian approach to the problem of economic instability.

With his aims everybody who cares for the future prosperity and happiness of humanity can agree. He focuses his book on the great lesson of the inter-war period—on the need for preventing slumps. It is when we come to the discussion of how this can be achieved that the progressive European tends to have doubts. Is it really true that (p. 19) "we have learned ways and means of stopping such a catastrophic development" (as the Great Depression from 1929–1932)? Those of us who have witnessed the lightning speed of the 1937 crash, which was retrieved by rearmament only, must rather doubt this, even if we disregarded the deliberate smashing of all controls and the sabotage of all measures, however mild (and probably ineffectual), proposed by President Truman to prevent instability by a reactionary coalition of Southern Democrats and Republicans.

This same difference of opinion exists in this country between the Keynesian and post-Keynesian school of thought, the former having inspired the Coalition Government White Paper on Employment Policy which was so convincingly criticised by Sir William Beveridge in his "Postcript."

It is, however, in Prof. Hansen's treatment of the international problem that one feels most disappointed. He gives his blessing to all the schemes which have been prepared and regards them as the high road to peace. No doubt in the U.S. they appear to be revolutionary. But are they objectively adequate? Has U.N.R.R.A. really been given the support required to describe it as "designed to fill the urgent needs of relief and rehabilitation of the war-devastated countries?" And Prof. Hansen does this on the basis of the original $2,500 million subscribed: perhaps $3 per head of the populations concerned. Then again the Food and Agricultural Organisation. How can the wheat muddle, the decontrol in the U.S., the emphasis on the restrictive export quota schemes laid in the Proposal for an International Trade Organisation, be reconciled with the high ideals—and hopes—expressed in the Communiqués of the Hot Springs Conference? Is the attempt of the State Department to induce Switzerland to limit exports to the U.S. by licence compatible with the professions of the need to increase international trade? Equally can the Bretton Woods Scheme, now aggravated by the severe limitations on British policy imposed by the Anglo-U.S. loan agreement, be regarded as adequate to provide for a New International Deal? The new Bank cannot undertake the industrialisation according a coherent plan of whole regions, but will lend on "approved projects" which are to be "self-supporting." Are the creditors forced to pursue policies which enable the transfer of the service of the loans? And do we not know that single projects in underdeveloped areas do not "pay" while an accomplished plan of industrialisation would *exparte* justify itself.

It is especially regrettable that Prof. Hansen so completely accepts the current catch-phrase of the glory and equity of "non-discrimination." In actual fact, the vast difference in size and power of the "sovereign States" turns their "equality before the law" in economic matters into a mockery. Rich and poor have their equal "right" to dine at the Ritz. The permission to grant 100 per cent. preference renders the prohibition of partial preference wicked and nonsensical: it stabilises the inferiority of poor and small areas. To develop new techniques, mass-markets and some security are needed. The abstraction from the risks and uncertainty encountered in "free markets" and their effect on investment and progress, on which so much of "Liberal" economics is based, renders their prescriptions not merely of little theoretical value but highly dangerous in practice. Having carefully explained that the U.S. will only be able to sell abroad to the extent she provides dollars by importing (including gold) or lending, he proceeds to attack savagely the "Sterling Area Dollar Pool" which is a device to distribute such dollars as that area has, not according to the vagaries of markets based on an inequitable distribution of wealth especially in the East, but according to social priorities. What the imposition of the, to a large extent unilateral, convertibility of the sterling will, in practice, achieve is a default on a substantial proportion of our sterling debt, which could easily have been paid had a coherent investment and development plan evolved for the sterling area. But Maharajahs will be able to buy Cadillacs at once.

Professor Polanyi is a distinguished physical chemist who has for some time been engaged on a crusade for *laisser-faire* economics. He is well known through his attempts (which are repeated in the present volume) to show that Soviet Planning was a failure because it did not succeed in doing what it had in fact not set out to do, i.e., to increase as much as possible the standard of life. There are still some economists about in this country (though it seems not in Manchester) who are grateful for the heroic sacrifice of the Russian people in peace, which ensured the establishment of those heavy industries which so largely contributed to the winning of the war. His present essay is a British parallel to Prof. Hansen's book to popularise the Keynesian doctrine of full employment through global monetary management. He wants to maintain demand through budget deficits which originate entirely through a remission of taxation. It is much to be doubted whether the State will in fact be able to time variations accurately to offset the vagaries of private investment and (uncontrolled) foreign trade, especially as once a slump starts private expenditure will also slump

THE INDUSTRIALISATION OF BACKWARD AREAS
Cloth 10s. 6d. *net*
This monograph maps out the quantitative implications of a plan to industrialise a group of agricultural countries within five years.

LARGE AND SMALL BUSINESS
Demy 8vo.
Paper 5s. *cloth* 7s. 6d. *net*
This monograph studies the question of the advantages big firms have over small firms and the effects this has had by concentrating output into large firms.

THE ECONOMICS OF FULL EMPLOYMENT
Six studies in applied economics
Demy 8vo. *4th edn.* 12s. 6d. *net*
"The first attempt to deal comprehensively with the means to full employment within capitalism, and the economic problems which such a policy would involve."
—*New Leader*
BASIL BLACKWELL

pp
OPENING BARS
by
Spike Hughes
In this first instalment of his autobiography, Spike Hughes writes about jazz, opera, public houses, Rugby football, Salzburg, Tilly Losch and a hundred and one other things. It makes a brilliantly diverting story, which swing fan and highbrow and all manner of other kinds of reader will find irresistible.
Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d. *net*
PILOT PRESS LTD

HARRAP
ALLENBY
Soldier & Statesman
by
FIELD-MARSHAL
VISCOUNT WAVELL
The life of Lord Allenby, previously published in two volumes as *Allenby: A Study in Greatness* and *Allenby in Egypt*, now reset in a single volume after revision by the author. With 7 half-tone plates and 12 pages of maps.
15/- net
READY APRIL 25

TOTAL EDUCATION
A PLEA FOR SYNTHESIS
M. L. Jacks, M.A.
Director of the Department of Education, Oxford University.
A plea for co-ordination and synthesis in educational outlook and methods in place of the fragmentary, sectional attitude now prevalent. "A very important book . . . a challenge to any genuine seeker or worker in the realm of education." *The Spectator.* "Lucid, convincing." *The Times Educational Supplement.* 10s. 6d. *net.*
In the International Library of Sociology & Social Reconstruction
KEGAN PAUL

rapidly because individuals try (but to not, of course, succeed) to accumulate reserves. The reason for his quaint preference is that in his view the State will otherwise "squander" the nation's resources. Here, again, we are confronted with the unholy muddle arising out of the implicit assumption of perfect consumers knowledge and perfect markets. Most exquisite is, however, his treatment of the implications of foreign trade on full employment which, contrary to the title of the book, occupies a small portion of the book only. At times he is an adherent of the belief that by varying the exchange rates an "equilibrium" can be achieved (defined on p. 107 as the purchasing power parity—long exploded) between two countries pursuing radically divergent economic policies. Subsequently, however, he proposes a world bank which will create and lend international purchasing power sufficient to permit the maintenance of employment in one country when another becomes depressed. He realises that the plans accepted and about to be put into effect are very far from satisfying this demand, and on page 122 he in fact admits defeat. It is a pity that his prejudices prevent a logical development of his reasoning, just as they render his domestic proposals fallacious and unreal.

No such admission can possibly be read into Mr. Harrod's passionate eulogy of the "stupendous event" which demanded "national thanksgiving," the acceptance by the U.S. of the Bretton Woods Act, and more especially of its scarce currency clause. The problem of transfer through "free" markets, and the problem of fluctuations do not interest Mr. Harrod. He does not realise that the imposition and revoking of restrictions in accordance with that clause will create appalling instability in all other countries. Nor does he give any analysis of the actual new wording of the "scarce" currency clause, or the quantitative provisions of the scheme which make it very doubtful (not to put it more strongly) that the dollar will be declared a scarce currency before the need for a desperate effort at deflation will be forced on this country if U.S. experiences a slump. There is no discussion of the likelihood of this contingency. Scorn is poured on the doubting without a single attempt at analysing the quantitative relations concerned. At times Mr. Churchill and his deflated myrmidons are treated as the Prime Minister and the majority of the House, menacing Anglo-American amity (again a certain lack of familiarity with modern quantities). We are exhorted not to form "blocs" (p. 15) and immediately afterwards (p. 16) we are reminded that we might play a useful role as an (anti-Russian?) "British Bastion" whose power the Americans are *now* (my italics) undoubtedly anxious to maintain! Long-term planning of development and of the exchange of goods, the provision of security to peasant producers on which their credit-worthiness depends, are dismissed as Schachtian bullying. All this is served up in a quasi-Churchillian rhetoric whose bombast is really difficult to swallow. Having written about sixty pages, Mr. Harrod might be felicitated on the meiosis of his title.

T. BALOGH

NEAR EAST

Time in the East. By EVAN JOHN. *Heinemann.* 15s.

Back of Beyond. By S. L. BENSUSAN. *Blandford Press.* 12s. 6d.

Neither of these books is quite autobiography, because for one reason and another their authors have decided to keep back themselves. In Mr. Evan John's case this is probably a pity. He could, if he chose, give us a full-length portrait instead of the reserved sketches and opinions run together in this book. Behind the stiffest of literary manners—which succeeds in encroaching even on letters to his family and his friends—one is aware every now and then of eager, bobbing movements: those (Mr. John seems to hint apologetically) are my cats trying to get out of their bags. Let them out then, urges the reader. No, says Mr. John, that would never do—now listen to this translation I've made of Tyrtæus, or better still, I've a good deal to say about the Crusades! And the translation, the digression, is capable enough. One discovers fairly soon that the author likes walking, Shakespeare, Anglicanism, mountains, the Near East, Charles I, medieval architecture, nineteenth-century poetry, repartee, horses, translation. During four years of war he was an Intelligence officer in Cairo and Beirut: working there, taking leaves in Palestine, Persia and the Lebanon exiled from some things, but at home for others, he reveals himself as a contemplative traveller. The descriptions aren't particularly vivid (though pleasurably and honestly conveyed), and what one enjoys rather is the projection of the author's comment. When he visits Jerusalem or Baalbek, we may not feel we have been there ourselves, but we trust his report. Thus of Galilee

> I was so taught my Bible in childhood as to imagine all its scenes [illegible] an undiluted background of sand and palm trees. I am glad to know now that many of the parables must have been first spoken amid furze and reeds, under trees not unlike our own. The shores in Gospel times were, of course, more populous than they are to-day, not merely with fishing villages like Magdala (which have now dwindled to a single house or barn), but also with pleasure resorts for Roman officers and civil servants.

The people he comes across are well summed-up too. Added to these are the Christian philosophy, and the careful freaks of taste that have produced illustrations and poems—both imitative but both skilful in their way. Mr. John does let one fair-sized cat out of the bag when, halfway through, he goes into an account of nervous breakdown. At one time, owing to depression, he could work for only four months in the year: it is to work, he says, that these states of mind chiefly attached. He found the priest more useful to him than the psycho-analyst. This chapter, the most personal, is also one of the most interesting in a book that puzzles a little by its wooden integrity.

Mr. Bensusan's memories of the nearer East—an Essex village, pre-war—have the courtly, chirrupy charm of all his writings about the country. He relishes these resistant characters, their peculiarity, speech and habits, and even more the landscape and way of life they inherit. This isn't, one hopes, the last of Mr. Bensusan's collections, as the preface advertises.

G. W. STONIER

Week-end Competitions

No. 845

Set by Sebastian

The usual prizes are offered for a quatrain replying to the Escapist Epigram by Sir Edward Marsh, printed in this issue. Entries by April 16th.

RESULT OF COMPETITION No. 842

Set by Raymond Mortimer

Six guineas are offered for clerihews about articles of clothing.

Report by Raymond Mortimer

From a galaxy of clerihews I painfully chose sixty-five, and the further selection from these became almost a matter of hazard, to the victims of which I must apologise. I recommend half a guinea each to

The Arab Awakening
by GEORGE ANTONIUS
This fine book, the first study of the Arab national movement ever written, has been out of print for some years and is now republished in response to many requests, a large number of which come from soldiers and civil servants in the Middle East.
12s. 6d. *net*
HAMISH HAMILTON LTD

★
this month
MONTAGU SLATER
PETER GRIMES
and
other poems
7s 6d net
THE BODLEY HEAD

Just published
RACHEL KNAPPETT
her first book
A Pullet on the Midden
"I doubt whether Miss Knappett farmed as well as she writes. She is a publisher's discovery . . . She writes rather like a female Leacock. I never knew farming could be so funny"
JOSEPH TAGGART IN THE STAR
10/6 net
MICHAEL JOSEPH

A WIND IS RISING
WILLIAM RUSSELL
(*Author of Robert Cain*)
An unusually moving and intelligent novel dealing with the Negro problem in the Southern States. 10/6 *net*
PL Book
THE REAL LIFE OF SEBASTIAN KNIGHT
VLADIMIR NABOKOV
Writing of Nabokov, Edmund Wilson says ". . . a man with a unique sensibility and unique story to tell." 8/6 *net*
FASCIST INDIA
PATRICK LACEY
Another facet of the Indian question. 7/6 *net*
NICHOLSON & WATSON